CHAPTER I

The Western Plains Prior to 1827

Back of the story of Fort Leavenworth, lies the historical setting of the early explorations in the Central West.

The great plains which are now included in western Kansas and the adjacent States attracted the interest of the Spaniards at an early date. Cabeza de Vaca, one of the few survivors of the ill-fated expedition led by De Narvaez in 1528, brought to the Spanish settlements in Mexico tales of immense wealth in ore and herds to be found far to the north among the strange native tribes. Soon, exaggerated stories began to drift into Mexico of wealthy cities to the North, where gold and precious stones were so common that the exteriors of the native dwellings glistened with ornaments of the richest character.

Mendoza, the Spanish Viceroy of Mexico, attracted by the prospect of riches to be added to the treasury of Spain, sent out a certain Fra Marcos de Niza to ascertain the truth. Fra Marcos was well fitted for this journey of exploration, already having traveled from Panama to Mexico on foot. He penetrated far enough into the desert to come within sight of the traditional "seven cities of Cibola." The apparent extent of the sunny walls led him to believe that a great city lay behind them. Without further investigation, he turned back and gave New Spain vivid reports of what he had seen.

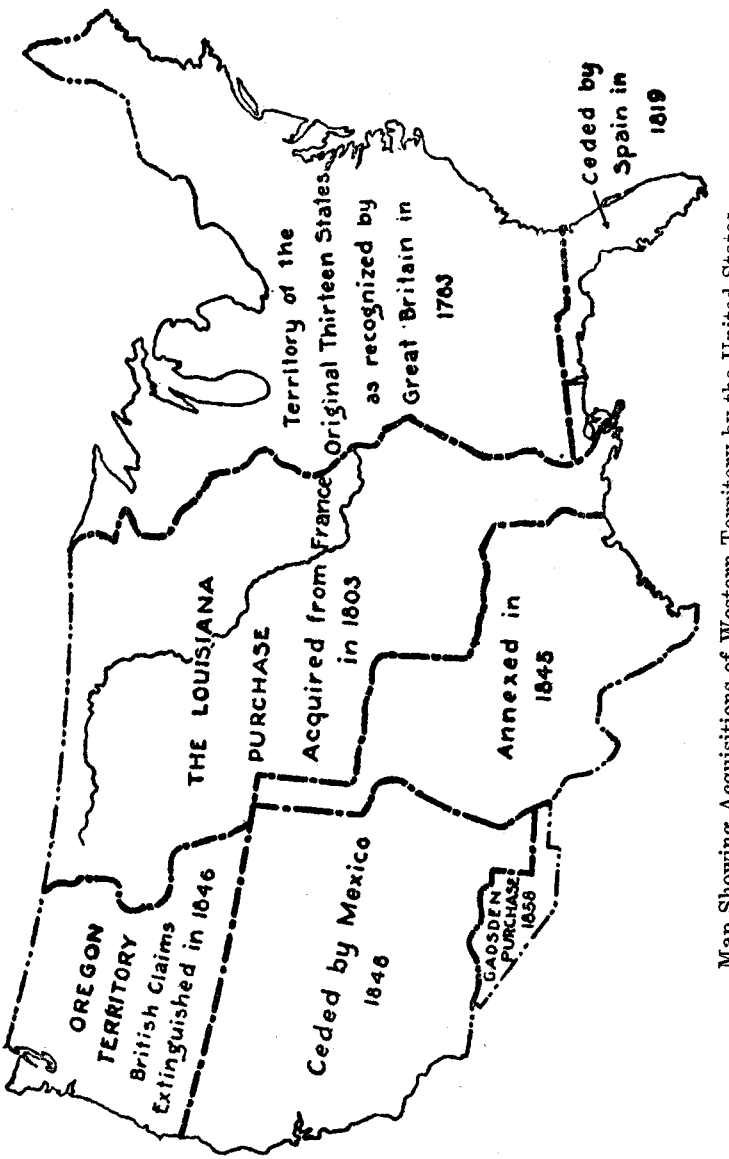
Stirred by visions of easily gained wealth, Coronado set forth from Mexico in the year 1540 with a brilliant following consisting of three hundred Spanish cavaliers, several hundred soldiers and servants, and a long supply train. The expedition marched for weeks, now north, now northeast, and conquered pueblo after pueblo without finding any evidence of riches. The fabulous "seven cities of Cibola" turned out to be poverty-stricken and crowded villages (probably located in the western part of what is now New Mexico). Finally, among similar villages, farther to the southeast, Coro-

nado's expedition, discouraged and worn out, settled down for the winter to await favorable opportunity to return to Mexico.

Soon, however, the Indians began to talk convincingly of a country called "Quivira," which lay far to the north. They spoke of its wonderful wealth and offered guides to lead Coronado to the treasures he sought. Accordingly, in May of the year 1541, the expedition again set out. It traveled many days to the eastward over the trackless plains, until supplies began to run low and faith in the Indian guide was lost. Coronado then decided to allow the main part of the expedition to turn back, while he with thirty selected horsemen continued northward without a guide in a final effort to reach the goal. For many days they traveled over the plains and finally in the valley of what is now the Arkansas River in Central Kansas they entered the Indian country of Quivira. They found the villages of Quivira to be as squalid as the Cibolas. For twenty-five days they continued their explorations, trying to find the wealth of gold and silver which they had been led to believe existed there. Then, disheartened and disillusioned, they wandered back to Mexico to recount their story of hardship and failure.

The Spanish reaped no material gains from Coronado's expedition. Nevertheless, Coronado and his faithful followers gave the civilized world an early description of the great plains, of the herds of bison, and an account of the soil and its products. In a letter to the King of Spain, Coronado said of the land, "It is the best I have ever seen for producing all of the fruits of Spain, for besides the land itself being very flat and black and being very well watered by rivulets, springs, and rivers, I found prunes like those in Spain, nuts, and very good sweet grapes and mulberries." However, the fruits of the soil could not take the place in the Spanish mind of the treasures they had visualized, and Coronado's report that sudden wealth was not to be picked up on the plains to the north of Mexico, caused this great area to lie almost forgotten for about a hundred and forty years.

While the Spaniards were searching the great plains for treasures, the trade expansion policy of France was directing its explorers to the South. When tales of the great



Map Showing Acquisitions of Western Territory by the United States.

river discovered by the Frenchmen, Pere Marquette and Joliet, began to circulate, Sieur de la Salle was one of the most interested listeners. Ambitious and patriotic, he soon began making plans to explore the entire Mississippi basin and to extend the power of France from Canada to the mouth of the great river. He made several attempts before he succeeded, but at last in the year 1682, he reached the mouth of the river and there erected a monument and a cross, ambitiously laying claim, in the name of France, to all the land drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. He named this great central area "Louisana," in honor of Louis XIV of France. Thus, just one hundred and ninety years after the discovery of America, France, basing her claim on the discoveries made by La Salle, came into possession of an immense tract of land of which the present State of Kansas was a part.

France authorized various explorations into her new territory, but it was not until the year 1719, that one of the explorers, M. Du Tissenet by name, came as far north as Kansas, traversing a considerable portion of the land now included within the borders of the State. Alarmed by such activity on the part of the French, and fearing for their own prestige, the Spanish sent out counter expeditions in 1721. To guard against these, in 1724, the French, under the leadership of M. De Bourgmont, established a little fort near the mouth of the Osage River, in what is now Missouri. This fort was entirely destroyed the following year. Both Spaniards and French had by this time suffered so severely at the hands of the Indians that exploration and colonization schemes were abandoned in this section of the country, and for nearly a hundred years the Pawnee and the Wichita tribes were left to contend with the Kansas or Kaws for possession of the central plains west of the Missouri River.

Next to complicate matters, the English projected themselves into the situation. England already had explored the Atlantic Coast and had taken possession of a large section in the middle of the coast line. She also declared ownership to a broad strip extending straight across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This claim at once came into conflict with the claim of the Spaniards on the south and that of the French on the north. It was not

until the close of the French and Indian Wars that the situation was adjusted by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. By this treaty, Louis XV of France and George III of England lost their land west of the Mississippi River, which territory was ceded to Charles III of Spain. In 1800, by the treaty of San Ildefonso, Charles of Spain ceded his portion back to France. Three years later, during the administration of President Jefferson, the United States purchased the great "Louisiana Territory" from Napoleon for fifteen millions of dollars.

In this manner the expanse of prairie west of the Mississippi River passed into the hands of the United States and at once assumed a new status. It came under the domination of a home-making policy, in contrast to the treasure-gathering policy of the Spanish and the trade-expansion policy of the French. The area was defined as the "District of Louisiana," and was placed under the administrative direction of an Army officer, Major Amos Stoddard, with headquarters at St. Louis. The whole territory was described as an unexplored wilderness with the exception of two centers of population: the trading depot at St. Louis, and a small trading community at Arkansas Post, not far from the mouth of the Arkansas River.

President Jefferson was much interested in the western country, and at an early date urged that the United States investigate the conditions surrounding the fur trade between the French and the Indians. Many of the statesmen of the period, however, thought it inadvisable to direct the attention of the people of the eastern settlements toward the possibilities of the West, saying that the settlers in the East were already too prone to wander in search of new homes. The idea of purchasing the "Louisiana Territory" was opposed, upon the ground that further additions to the country would make it too unwieldy for successful management. But when the opportunity came, it was too good to be missed and the negotiations were quickly concluded. The purchase having been made, the East began to clamor for information concerning the resources of the new possession. In seeking men to undertake the necessary work of exploration, the Government turned to the officers of the Army, because they were immediately available for the work and in addition were well

fitted for it, both by temperament and education. In a confidential message to Congress, President Jefferson included the following with regard to a proposed expedition:

"An intelligent officer, with ten or twelve chosen men, fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, taken from our posts where they may be spared without inconvenience, might explore the whole line even to the Western Ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission from them for our traders as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms and accouterments, some instruments of observation, and light and cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on whether here or there."

The famous Lewis and Clark expedition was the first to be sent out. Its commander was Captain Meriwether Lewis, who had been on duty as Private Secretary to President Jefferson. Associated with Captain Lewis, at his own request was Lieutenant William Clark, younger brother of George Rogers Clark, who had already distinguished himself in connection with the settlement of the territory north of the Ohio River. The expedition, numbering about forty men, left St. Louis on May 14, 1804, under orders to explore the Missouri River and its principal tributaries. The party traveled in three large boats, and after five weeks of slow progress, reached the mouth of the Kansas River. The small command made one of its camps on the present site of Kansas City, Kansas, and then continued on its way up the Missouri River, passing along the eastern edges of what are now Leavenworth, Atchison, and Doniphan Counties in Kansas. It took Lewis and Clark only fifteen days to traverse the Kansas boundary, but they managed to obtain much data of interest concerning the land, the Indians, the game, and even the fruits of the section. We read in one place, "Pecan trees were this day seen and large quantities of deer and

wild turkey." They recorded an account of a buffalo hunt as carried on by the Indians. They also made note of finding the ruins of an old French fort near the mouth of what is now known as Salt Creek, northwest of the present site of Fort Leavenworth. History does not appear to have left other record or trace of this fort. It is a matter of interest that while near the present city of Atchison, they held the first recorded Independence Day celebration ever conducted within the present area of Kansas.

The name of another Army officer, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, for whom Pike's Peak was named, also is written extensively into the history of early exploration in the West. Two years after the start of the Lewis and Clark expedition, Lieutenant Pike was sent by General James Wilkinson, the new Governor of the then designated "Territory of Louisiana" to discover the source of the Red River. Starting from the headquarters at St. Louis, he ascended the Missouri River. He visited the Osage Indians who lived on the Little Osage River in what is now central Missouri, and after purchasing supplies from them, pursued a northwesterly course to the Pawnee villages which were located on a part of the Kansas River later called the Republican Fork. Upon reaching the Solomon Fork, the expedition came across traces of a body of Spaniards which had been sent out from Santa Fe to intercept its progress. When Pike reached the Pawnees, he found that the Spaniards had won the friendship of these Indians and that the Spanish flag was flying over the Pawnee village. It took considerable argument, backed up by some show of force, to persuade the Indians to haul down the Spanish flag and raise that of the United States. This is the first recorded instance of the flying of the Stars and Stripes within the boundaries of the present State of Kansas. From the Pawnee village, Pike moved across country toward the "Great Bend" of the Arkansas River located in the present area of Central Kansas. At Pawnee Rock, he traveled up the Arkansas River, encountering herds of buffalo, deer, elk, and wild horses, and continued along this stream until he reached the Rocky Mountains. During his efforts to find the source of the Red River, his men suffered considerably from cold, fatigue, and scarcity of food. Finally, hoping to better the situation, he moved in a south-

westerly direction only to find himself in Spanish territory. Within a few days, Pike and his men were made prisoners and were taken to Santa Fe, where they were rigorously questioned concerning their mission.

Lieutenant Pike made excellent use of the time during his restraint in Santa Fe. He gained a fund of information about the resources and trade advantages of the Southwest. Here he found one Baptiste Lalande carrying on a lucrative trading business. Lalande had been sent to Santa Fe some years before as the agent of William Morrison, a prominent merchant of Kaskaskia, Illinois, who owned a fleet of trading boats which ran between Pittsburg and New Orleans. From Lalande, Pike learned of the greatest possibilities of trade between the merchants of the United States and the inhabitants of northwestern Mexico. The real beginning of the Santa Fe Trail was without doubt due to Lieutenant Pike, for he brought back a story of trade opportunity which greatly influenced the merchants of the East. Pike did not think very well of the agricultural possibilities of Kansas, concerning which he made the following report: "Our citizens, being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontiers, will through necessity be constrained to limit their extent in the West to the borders of the Missouri and the Mississippi while they leave the prairies, *incapable of cultivation,* to the wandering aborginies of the country." However, Lieutenant Pike was by no means alone in this estimte. Major Stephen H. Long, who in 1819 led a scientific expedition up the Missouri River and across the plains to the Rocky Mountains, made the sweeping statement in his report that the plains resembled the deserts of Siberia. Washington Irving also recorded practically the same impression of the new country.

During the years between 1805 and 1815, the great frontiersman, Daniel Boone, is known to have found the broad valley of the Kansas River profitable for his hunting and trapping expeditions. Sharing in the early work of exploration in the West, were those adventuresome hunters and trappers, mostly of French descent, called *coureurs de bois.* These men lived much like the Indians and, traveling for the most part by boat, kept ahead of the advance of the trading posts.

Although Lieutenant Pike was unable to visualize the golden wheat fields which now cover much of the western prairie lands, his observations on trade possibilities with northwestern Mexico were so keen that the imaginations of the eastern merchants were stirred, and in a few years long caravans of pack mules and covered wagons loaded with merchandise were going out to the Southwest over the great trading path, which became known as the Santa Fe Trail, and returning with thousands of dollars worth of silver, furs, and mules.

CHAPTER II

Fort Leavenworth Established

When, in 1821, Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke and with it the trade restrictions imposed by Spain, a new era began for the West and for the commerce of the United States. Northwestern Mexico was greatly in need of merchandise and had plenty of wealth with which to pay for it; hence, it was not long before the enterprising merchants of the United States reached it with their trade. One of the earliest ventures was made by William Becknell, a merchant of Missouri, who took a small pack train of goods out on the plains to trade with the Indians. Meeting some Mexican rangers, Becknell was easily persuaded by them to take his goods to New Mexico. His venture was so successful that the next year he repeated it on a larger scale, this time using stout wagons instead of pack mules; but his attempt to find a trading path across the Cimarron Desert led to failure. However, the same year his nephew, Braxton Cooper, took a pack train from Franklin, Missouri, to Santa Fe by way of the Taos route and realized a large profit. In 1823 he repeated the venture, this time bringing back four hundred mules and a large quantity of furs.

In 1824, began the great and interesting trading ventures in which a large number of merchants joined forces for protection, each contributing a few pack mules or wagons laden with merchandise. In the first expedition more than eighty traders organized a great caravan of pack mules and stout wagons. Relying on strength in numbers and thoroughness of preparation, they left their prairie route at the "Great Bend of the Arkansas River" and struck directly across the desert for Santa Fe. By bringing back over $190,000 worth of silver, furs, and mules, the Vermont Yankee, Augustus Storrs, who led the expedition, successfully inaugurated trade relations between the United States and the Southwest.

The trading route took the name of the Santa Fe Trail. Those pioneers who followed this unmarked path from Franklin, the last settlement in Missouri, to Santa Fe, a distance of over eight hundred miles, encountered many difficulties and dangers. However, the traders were greatly aided by the interest of Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri who induced Congress to provide for a survey of the route. The commission of surveyors marked the usual route as far as the "Great Bend of the Arkansas" by mounds of earth. From that point, they defined the longer and safer route along the Arkansas River by way of Taos, but the stronger caravans preferred to follow the dimly defined wagon tracks straight across the desert.

All this trade activity could not long escape conflict with the Indians. Congress spent $20,000 in purchasing right of transit through their lands, but the horses and the ammunition with the caravan were especially tempting to the Indians, and marauding bands were soon seeking opportunity to steal. A chain of retaliations developed into open hostilities and many desperate encounters with Pawnees, Comanches, and Arapahoes resulted. The traders called loudly upon the Government for protection, and in response, the United States pushed its groups of soldiers farther to the west and established them in small forts along the trails.

Soon after the United States acquired the "Louisiana Territory," it established a military post at Bellfontaine on the south side of the Missouri River near St. Louis. When, in 1826, Jefferson Barracks was established at St. Louis, the post at Bellfontaine was abandoned. Reaching toward the west, the next point selected for a military garrison was about fifty miles below Kansas City, near the present town of Sibley, Jackson County, Missouri. This post was first called Fort Clark and later Fort Osage. Founded in 1808, it fell into disuse a few years afterward and was abandoned about 1826. For a number of years after the establishment of Fort Osage, there seems to have been a pause in the building of posts. In 1819, Major Stephen H. Long came up the Missouri River in his shallow-draft steamboat, armed with authority to establish new forts in order to complete a chain of military stations to be used for the protection and monopoly of the fur trade of the Northwest. Major

Long's steamer, *The Western Engineer,* was the first to ascend the Missouri River. The design of this boat was fantastic. The steam escape pipe was fashioned to represent a huge serpent with its head protruding from the bow. When the boat was in motion, the serpent wheezed loudly and appeared to be responsible for the churning of the water by the paddles at the rear.

As an advance agent of Major Long's enterprise, Captain Wyly Martin, with about three hundred riflemen, and a large quantity of supplies, left Bellfontaine in September, 1818, with orders to establish a supply point for the expedition. In October of the same year, he located a temporary military cantonment about twelve miles above the present site of Fort Leavenworth on the island which the French had once designated *Isle de Vache* and where about 1725 they had established a fortified camp under De Bourgmont. (This island, now called Cow Island, is part of the mainland attached to Platte County, Missouri, opposite Oak Mills, Atchison County, Kansas.) The second phase of the enterprise was not successful, for one of the steamboats employed to carry troops failed below Franklin and another at Fort Osage, only one reaching Cantonment Martin. However, the effort was renewed, and on August 31, 1819, eight companies of the 6th Infantry arrived at the cantonment from St. Louis, having made the trip up the river on steamboats and keel boats. This was a continuation of a long journey for the 6th Infantry, for earlier in the year it had marched from Plattsburg Barracks, New York to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, from which place it made the long river trip to St. Louis. Martin's camp on Cow Island was then abandoned and the entire command proceeded up the Missouri River and established Fort Atkinson at Council Bluffs, near the present site of Omaha. In 1820, Major Long continued his expedition overland from Fort Atkinson to the Rocky Mountains. During this journey he discovered "Long's Peak" in the present Estes Park, Colorado.

The problem of protecting the increasing trade over the Santa Fe Trail was still unsolved when Senator Benton again came forward and presented a resolution in Congress inquiring into the practicability of establishing a military station on the Arkansas River near the point where the

trail crossed that stream. The difficulty of furnishing supplies for such an establishment and the fact that a garrison at that place would be of little use except in the immediate vicinity, led to an abandonment of the idea. On January 11, 1827, Major General Jacob Brown, commanding the United States Army at the time, offered as a substitute, the recommendation that "two companies of Infantry supported by two other companies of mounted troops, be dispatched to some eligible position on or near the Arkansas River, erect a cantonment for rendezvous and engage from this centre in the itinerary service requisite for the accomplishment of the desired object. Without the full force which I have suggested, especially of the cavalry arm, I should judge it inexpedient to make the move. With this force, it is presumed that the trade might be secured and the garrison placed beyond the probable reach of disaster."

In the ensuing discussion, the Missouri River seems to have received final favor over the Arkansas River as the site for the new fort, as is indicated by the following order which was issued not long after General Brown's report to the Senate:

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

WASHINGTON, *March 7, 1827.*

Orders No. 14.

Extract * * * * * * * .

2. Colonel Leavenworth of the 3d Infantry, with four companies of his regiment will ascend the Missouri, and when he reaches a point on its left bank near the mouth of the Little Platte river and within a range of twenty miles above or below its confluence, he will select such position as in his judgment is best calculated for the site of a permanent cantonment. The spot being chosen, he will then construct with the troops of his command comfortable though temporary quarters sufficient for the accommodation of four companies. This movement will be made as early as the convenience of the service will permit.

3. The commanding officer of the 6th Regiment will evacuate Fort Atkinson as soon as the season and the special regard to economy, as well as the preservation of every species of public property will authorize. All the public

property and stores and such material as would be useful in the construction of barracks, will be carefully removed by the troops under his command, and be deposited at the new post directed to be established by Colonel Leavenworth.

* * * * * * *

5. All facilities requisite for the carrying of provisions of this order into effect, will be furnished by the proper Departments of the Staff, and the Commanding General of the Western Department, is charged with its execution.

By order of Major General Brown,

R. JONES,
Adjutant General.

The selection of Colonel Henry Leavenworth for this undertaking, indicated that the War Department deemed the venture of considerable importance. Colonel Leavenworth was an officer of wide experience, and already had rendered important service to the United States. In 1816 he had been made Indian Agent in the Northwest Territory. Two years later upon his promotion to a lieutenant-colonelcy, he was ordered to Detroit, from which station he was sent out the following year with a detachment to explore the region around St. Anthony Falls, on the Mississippi River. In that vicinity, he established Fort St. Anthony, now called Fort Snelling. In 1823, he forced the Arikaree Indians, who for many years had given much trouble to the settlers and troops along the Missouri River, to conclude a treaty with the United States, which treaty effectually settled the difficulty. For this service he was especially commended by President Monroe and Secretary Calhoun. In 1825, he was made a colonel and ordered to Green Bay, Wisconsin, and from there the following year, went to St. Louis where he was placed in charge of a "School for the Instruction of Infantry" at Jefferson Barracks, which post had been established in the same year (1826). He had barely started the work when he was ordered away from the school to undertake the establishment of the post which now bears his name.*

*Further biographical notes concerning Colonel Leavenworth are contained in Appendix Y.

There is but meagre information to be obtained concerning the removal of the troops from Jefferson Barracks, the trip up the river, and the search for a site for the final establishment of the cantonment. A three line notice in the *Missouri Republican* of St. Louis under date of April 19, 1827; the report of Colonel Leavenworth dated May 8, 1827, announcing the site he had chosen; the recollections of a Mrs. Shubael Allen who was a resident of the town of Liberty, Missouri, at the time of the expedition; and the recollections of General Henry J. Hunt who at the age of about eight years accompanied his father on the trip, constitute the best of the available sources. The newspaper notice above referred to reads as follows:

"Four companies of the 3d Regiment of the United States Infantry left Jefferson Barracks April 17, 1827, in keel boats under the immediate command of Captain W. G. Belknap for the Little Platte on the Missouri."

The mention of Captain Belknap as being in command of the troops when they started from St. Louis has given rise to considerable conjecture as to the whereabouts of Colonel Leavenworth at this time. It is probable that the Colonel preceded the troops, in order to reconnoiter and if possible select a suitable site before they arrived. W. M. Paxton, in his *Annals of Platte County,* says that Mrs. Shubael Allen recollected seeing Colonel Leavenworth at Liberty Landing, and that he proceeded later to Parkville, near the mouth of the Little Platte River. He there made an accurate examination of the locality, but not finding a suitable location, proceeded north until he reached the narrow channel opposite the hills on which he finally decided to locate.

Unless one is somewhat familiar with the keel boats used on the Missouri River at the time, it is impossible to conceive of the tediousness and the difficulties of the river journey made by Colonel Leavenworth's command. The boats themselves were objects of great curiosity to settlers and Indians along the river, for regular traffic on this part of the Missouri had been running but a year. The keel boats were usually from fifty to seventy-five feet long and

from fifteen to twenty feet wide. They were well modeled, sharp bow and stern, and built by skilled workmen. Each boat had a carrying capacity of from ten to twenty tons, a light draft of thirty inches, and cost from $2000 to $3000. Amidships there was a cabin extending four or five feet above the hull, in which was stored the cargo or supplies. On each side of the cabin there was a narrow passage along which the boatmen walked in pushing the boat along with poles. The appliances used for ascending the river were the cordelle, the pole, the oar, and the sail. The "cordelle" was a rope, some thirty yards long which was fastened to the mast in the centre of the boat. The boat was pulled along by means of this rope by a group of from twenty to thirty men who walked along the shore. There were shallow places along the river where the crew was forced to resort to the use of the poles. The oars came into use when it became necessary to cross from one side of the river to the other, as frequently happened. The sail was used to take advantage of the slightest breeze.

The trip must have been tedious, but nevertheless picturesque and full of adventure. Few white people had traversed this country at the time and it was a new experience in the lives of the members of the command to wind their way up the practically untried river between wind wooded banks, one of which had no inhabitants but Indians. There was plenty of talk and conjecture about, for the boats carried a group of people; officers, soldiers, a few wives, and several small children—all going to an unknown place of residence with no prepared dwellings and no supply of provisions except such as they carried with them.

The first news received from the troops after the departure from St. Louis was contained in the report of Colonel Leavenworth to Department Headquarters at St. Louis, dated May 8, 1827, in which he announced his arrival described his selection of a site, and mentioned the arrival from Fort Atkinson of Major Daniel Ketcham with a battalion of the 6th Infantry and its property. After depositing his property at Cantonment Leavenworth as ordered, Major Ketcham proceeded down the river, with his battalion, to join the remainder of the 6th Infantry at Jefferson Barracks.

In explaining his choice of a site somewhat at variance with the letter of his orders, Colonel Leavenworth said in his report to the War Department:

"A short examination of the country convinced me that there was no good site for military purposes on the left bank of the Missouri within the distance of this place mentioned in the General Order on that subject. I accordingly proceeded up the river eighteen or twenty miles and found a good site for a cantonment on the right bank of the Missouri about the distance from this place. The site is 150 feet above the surface of the river and has an altitude of 896 feet.

"In addition to the advantage of being on the same side of the Missouri as the road to Santa Fe, this position (the one I have selected) possesses the very material one of having a dry rolling country on the south and southwest of it. This will greatly contribute to the healthiness of the position. In addition to all this, I can safely say that there is no other place that will answer the purposes required within the prescribed distance of the Little Platte."

Although the arrival of the troops was reported on the 8th of May, it was not until the 19th of September that the War Department sent the following letter of approval to Department Headquarters:

ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE

WASHINGTON, *September 19, 1827.*

Sir:

The site which has been selected by Colonel Leavenworth for a permanent cantonment near the mouth of the Little Platte, in virtue of the General Order of March 7 (G.O. 14) is approved by the General in Chief. The selection of the right bank instead of the left bank of the Missouri for reasons assigned by Colonel Leavenworth in his report of May 8 addressed to Department Headquarters is deemed to be judicious and therefore approved.

I am Sir,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

R. JONES,
Adjutant General.

The Cantonment was later officially designated as Cantonment Leavenworth by Department Orders, No. 56, of 1827.

Although Colonel Leavenworth must have expected the War Department either to approve or to disapprove his choice of a site within a short time, still knowing the delay incident to the transmission of official orders, he fortunately did not wait for final approval, but set about establishing his post as if it were to be permanent. A tent camp was pitched at once, and as soon as possible the tents were replaced by small huts constructed of logs and roughly hewn slabs of bark. These appear to have been built on the general site of the square known as the Main Parade. Just south of the camp, on an elevation which had a good view and command to the south, a rough stone wall was constructed as a protection against possible Indian attacks. Thanks to the Leavenworth Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, part of this old wall has been restored and still stands.

Even in the wilderness, this little company at Cantonment Leavenworth was not without curious observers, for we read in Paxton's *Annuals* that one Adam Woods of Clay County, Missouri, came across the river to investigate the unusual activity, and reported the construction of the bark huts. The following year he again visited the Cantonment, this time in company with a man by the name of Berry, and took back the news that the bark huts were being replaced by log quarters and that new cottonwood stables were under construction.

When Major Ketcham arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth he brought with him Major John Doughterty who was on his way to St. Louis to furnish bond there for his recent appointment as Indian Agent. Colonel Leavenworth suggested that he make his future headquarters at the new Post, since it seemed a most suitable point for the work. Major Dougherty obtained permission to do this from his superiors at St. Louis and reported at Cantonment Leavenworth on September 25, 1827.

The post return of the garrison for the period ending October 31, 1827, shows Companies B, D, E, and H of the 3d

Infantry present with 14 officers and 174 enlisted men. The following officers were present on that date:

Major D. Baker, who was in command. Major Baker joined sometime after the arrival of the troops.

Captain W. G. Belknap (the father of Secretary of War Belknap under President Grant).

Captain J. Garland.

Captain John Bliss.

Captain John B. Clark, who was the Post Quartermaster.

First Lieutenant Benjamin Walker, who was the Post Commissary.

First Lieutenant Samuel U. Hunt, who brought with him his three motherless boys, the eldest of whom, then eight years of age, became General Henry J. Hunt of Civil War fame.

First Lieutenant Otis Wheeler.

First Lieutenant James Dean, who was the Post Adjutant.

Second Lieutenant Joseph Bonnell.

Second Lieutenant W. R. Montgomery.

Second Lieutenant S. P. Heintzelman, who later rose to the rank of general officer.

Second Lieutenant E. B. Babbitt.

Assistant Surgeon C. A. Finley, who was the Post Medical Officer. He became Surgeon General of the Army during the first year of the Civil War.

Colonel Leavenworth's name is not mentioned in this return, but the report at Jefferson Barracks for the corresponding period shows him present at that post. This seems to indicate that as soon as his choice of a site had been approved and the Cantonment established, he returned to Jefferson Barracks to take up his work there, possibly to continue supervision of the "School for the Instruction of Infantry" of which he had been placed in charge the preceding year.

During the first summer, there was considerable sickness in the command, in spite of the fact that the camp site had been carefully chosen with a view to the maintenance

of health. Malarial fever, the bane of all the posts along the river, became so severe that at one time, out of one hundred seventy-four enlisted men, seventy-seven were sick, and sixty-five were busied with duties connected with taking care of them, which left only thirty-two for duty. The six year old son of Lieutenant Samuel U. Hunt was one of the victims of the epidemic. Several of the children were removed from the Post after that and sent to school in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri.

The spring of 1828 brought no improvement in the health of the command. Nevertheless, due to increased difficulties with the Indians on the frontier, the garrison was increased by the addition of the remainder of the 3d Infantry, with the exception of Companies C and G, which were sent to Fort Armstrong (now Rock Island, Illinois). In his annual report for 1828, the Secretary of War explains the troop movements of that spring, expresses regret for the reduction of the strength of the Infantry School at Jefferson Barracks, established the previous year, and states that such action was "necessary for establishing new and occupying old military posts in order to provide for the protection of the inhabitants along frontier lines where there have been symptoms of discontent and hostility manifested by the Indians." The Secretary of War also furnished the following interesting discussion concerning the establishment of new posts in the West:

"The policy of pushing our military posts (such as Fort Snelling on the Mississippi, Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri, and including perhaps others on the Arkansas and the Red rivers) so far within the Indian country, and so far ahead of the regular advance of our population, may well be questioned. Instead of projecting our frontier inhabitants against the incursions of the Indians, these isolated garrisons must, in the event of a serious Indian War, inevitably become the first victims of its fury. At present, they only serve to invite wild and profitless adventures into the Indian Country, the usual consequences of which are personal collisions with the natives, and the government is then put to the expense of a military expedition to vindicate the rights of these straggling traders.

"Had not the season been too far advanced to effect such distant movements, it was in the contemplation of the Department last summer, when it came to the resolution to advance a portion of its force so as to cover and protect our stationary and laboring population in the northwest, to draw in at the time, some of our most remote garrisons, in order to form a connected line of defense, the several parts of which should mutually support each other—within which no hostile Indian would dare to venture, and beyond which no white citizen, unless protected by a military escort or a proper license to trade with the Indians, should be permitted to pass.

* * * * * * *

"The garrison at Fort Leavenworth on the Missouri has suffered most severely—it is situated on dry and elevated ground selected with special regard to health; but the rich bottoms in its vicinity occasion sickness and it is doubtful whether a change of location to any other point higher up the Missouri could escape or even diminish the cause of the evil—The evil can be remedied only by the introduction of population and herds to destroy and consume this vegetation."

The above report was a pessimistic one but conditions at the Cantonment seemed to justify it. However, in spite of sickness, considerable work was being done, and the men and officers were rather philisophical about their difficulties. One of the improvements brought special satisfaction—a post office was established on May 29, 1829, with Mr. Philip Rand as Postmaster. Prior to this, it was necessary either to make a twenty-six mile horse back trip over a difficult trail to Liberty, Missouri, for the mail, or to travel down river by means of a chance steamboat or a slow moving keel boat to the same place.

Supplies were difficult to obtain. Most of them, including beef, bacon, lard, and vegetables, had to be procured from the few settlers across the river in Clay County, Missouri. Mr. George B. Duncan, in Paxton's *Annals of Platte County* says that his father, James Duncan, and Rice Davenport sold to the Quartermaster at Cantonment Leavenworth in the fall of 1829, the following staples; bacon at a cent and

a quarter a pound, salt pork at seventy-five cents a hundred, horses at from fifteen to twenty dollars each, oxen at thirty dollars a yoke, and large steers at ten dollars each. These supplies were brought across the Missouri in flat boats constructed at Liberty. Occasionally the cargo included a deer, for there were many in the vicinity, and also beeswax, which was a staple and which sold regularly for twenty-five cents a pound. There was great difficulty in transporting these supplies for there was no wagon road and the Platte River often was unfordable.

In the summer of 1828, after the garrison had been increased by the addition of the companies of the 3d Infantry, the soldiers were detailed to open a good road from the Cantonment to the town of Barry, near Liberty The heavy work on the west end of the road was done by the soldiers, and they were aided, according to Paxton's *Annals* by the citizens of Clay County who worked on the eastern end. A perfectly straight road twenty feet wide was cut from the Missouri River to Bee Creek, across which a ford of brush and stone was constructed. After the road was built, it still was necessary to provide crossings over two streams, so a license was given to one Zadock Martin to operate ferries across the Missouri and the Little Platte Rivers. Martin built a two-room cabin for his six sons, three daughters, and six slaves below the "Falls" of the Little Platte. He later added two shed rooms and proceeded to run a tavern as a side line to the ferry business. For many years, he was the most conspicuous figure of the countryside. As his nearest neighbor was fifteen miles away, he was complete master of the situation, and it took a brave man to oppose his will when he chose to make exhorbitant demands of the chance traveler, or to farm any land that seemed best to him.

The spring of 1829, brought little change in the unfavorable health conditions prevalent the year before at Cantonment Leavenworth. Malarial fever in its worst form was still present in each company and several deaths resulted. Medical supplies were not sufficient, nor were there men enough to care for all the sick, and still perform the necessary work. The War Department considered the situation serious and finally ordered the depleted garrison at Canton-

ment Leavenworth to proceed to Jefferson Barracks as soon as practicable. This time the journey was made by steamboat. However, to continue protection of the overland trade, a battalion of the 6th Infantry was detailed to replace the 3d Infantry at Cantonment Leavenworth, with orders to spend most of the summer season, when malaria was prevalent, on escort duty on the plains, using the Cantonment for winter quarters only.

The following extract of a letter, dated April 9, 1829, written by Lieutenant Otis Wheeler, then at the Cantonment, to his sister in New Hampshire, gives a first hand picture of the conditions at Leavenworth on the eve of the return of the 3d Infantry to Jefferson Barracks:

CANTONMENT LEAVENWORTH,
April 29, 1829.

"Dear Sister:

Your last letter was received. I was happy to learn you are well, as you represented. We have an order to go down to Jefferson Barracks (where we left, near St. Louis) and expect a steamboat up this week to transport us. The sixth regiment is there and all will make eighteen companies —a lovely number of us. I hope that regiment will go away, as we want their quarters and would like ladies' society—I believe they have about fifteen ladies, some daughters. Some of them I wanted to marry in Kentucky but I was so chicken-hearted—I did not durst ask them and they have married in the 6th Regiment.

* * * * * * *

"We have a garden to leave just in front of our quarters, of at least twelve acres, just coming up, grape vines, four hundred plum trees and everything that is good under way, and we must leave it all—I don't regret it at all, for I wish to leave this river as quickly as possible, on account of health, and its rapidity. If I get down safe with our company I shall do great things, as it is ten times as dangerous in descending as ascending.

"I have had command of our company for more than two years and it has been the most healthy one,—we have about fifty sick of eight companies, but I have only one. I, however, have lost ten or twelve men since I came here, by

death, but I could not help that—my company is the largest now, notwithstanding—but I can't say much in favor of its commanding officer—your worthy brother,

OTIS."

The company of the 6th Infantry started from St. Louis under Captain and Brevet Major Bennett Riley on May 5, 1829, and arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth in just ten days, the best time that had been made yet between the two places. Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke gives an interesting description of the departure from Jefferson Barracks in his *Scenes and Adventures in the Army,* published in 1856. He says in part:

"It was remarkable how large the proportion of married men was among those selected to fill our companies—The boats swarmed with their wives and children. The deck was barricaded with beds and bedding. Infants squalled and chickens cackled;—The Quartermaster was in a fever of contention and official opposition and voted all contraband; our commander was wroth and struck for the free bottom principle where the Government and its servants were concerned. General Atkinson had to interpose to restore peace; and in the guise of the founding of a colony we set forth for our adventures in the western deserts where we were destined to see no women for nearly half a year."

With reference to the change of station, between the 3d and the 6th Infantry regiments, the Secretary of War, in his annual report from 1829 says: "Cantonment Leavenworth situated at the mouth of the Little La Plata was also reduced. The experience of several years had taught that health in the garrison could not be maintained. It was accordingly removed to Jefferson Barracks, and some of the healthy companies of the 6th ordered thence to the Santa Fe to give protection to our western traders with directions to retire in the Autumn and take up their winter residence at this Post, where in the Spring they will again be in readiness to proceed on their western line of march to afford protection to the traders with Mexico. Thus acting, there will be greater security for health, while a better effect will be

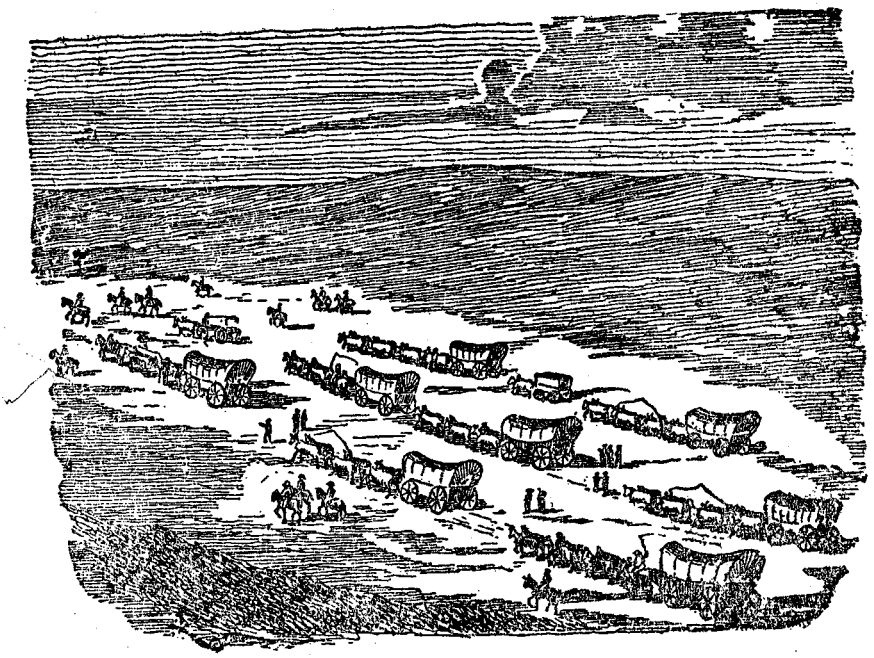
produced on the Indians than from their remaining stationary at any point."

In the summer of 1829, Cantonment Leavenworth and vicinity was much excited by a reported outbreak of hostile Indians on the Chariton River in Missouri. It is chiefly interesting from the fact that it was as near to an Indian outbreak in the vicinity of the Post as was ever recorded. All the tribes in the district immediately adjacent to the Post were semi-civilized, and gave the troops very little trouble.

The Secretary of War in his annual report of 1829 refers to the Indian troubles of the section for that year giving their history in detail. A portion of his report reads as follows:

"In the month of July last, the inhabitants near the frontiers of Missouri were alarmed at the hostile proceedings which took place in the Charaton [present spelling, Chariton] river in Randolph County, between some of the citizens of that State and a party of Indians of the Ioway tribe, in which several men on both sides were killed. As soon as the report of these hostilities reached Brevet Brigadier General Leavenworth, he ordered a detachment of one company of the third regiment and five companies of the sixth regiment of Infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baker, from Jefferson Barracks, to the scene of action, and every suitable preparation was promptly made by the General in conjunction with the Governor of Missouri, to suppress the irregularities, and bring the offenders to justice.

"To convince the Indians, that there was a determination on the part of the government to punish the aggressors, General Leavenworth, having previously ordered the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Baker to Cantonment Leavenworth, proceeded thither himself, and there caused to be assembled, through the instrumentality of the Indian Agents, the tribes represented to have been engaged in the affair on the Charaton. The General stated to them that it was his object to ascertain, if possible, whether the Indians or the white people were the aggressors that the guilty might be punished. He therefore demanded of them that they deliver into his hands all those who were concerned in the affair,



A Wagon Train on the old Santa Fe Trail.

and until this could be done, he detained as hostages some of the principal chiefs then present. The Indians accordingly delivered up nineteen of the Ioways who were of the party engaged with whites on the Charaton. Measures were also taken to ascertain the names of the white men represented to have been likewise engaged in that conflict, and the whole of them have been presented to the proper authorities to be dealt with according to law.

"From the aspects of affairs on the Missouri frontier, General Leavenworth judiciously left a detachment at Cantonment Leavenworth to watch the conduct of the Indians in that quarter, and to make preparations for the reception on its return, of the party under Major Riley, which is destined to remain there with the view of converting that frontier against any enterprises which might be attempted by unfriendly tribes."

Although Fort Leavenworth had been established with the primary object of furnishing protection to the annual

caravans carrying the trade between the United States and Mexico, the expedition which set out in June, 1829, under Major Bennett Riley, with a battalion of the 6th Infantry, was the first actually to perform such service. Again we are indebted to Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke, a member of the expedition for the following account:

"We are not to march for a week or two, the day for meeting the traders at Round Grove, some fifty miles distant, having been agreed upon. Probably in consequence of most of the oxen having been bought and conducted to the river opposite Fort Leavenworth, it was determined to commence the march on that side and cross back to the right bank at Independence (thus avoiding the Kansas, where there was no ferry). We had twenty wagons, laden heavily with provisions, and four ox carts for camp equipage. The battalion marched on the 5th of June. I had breakfasted and mounted guard at 4:00 A.M. and at a much later hour brought up the rear, and it was a dark night when having marched seven miles, I found myself in a miry and dreary bottom of the Little Platte river where half of the baggage train was stuck for the night.
* * * After a laborious march of five days averaging some seven miles a day through the Missouri and its creek bottoms, we again crossed and camped on the verge of the Grand Prairie. After delving so long in lofty but somber forests, we felt highly exhilarated to view from a light and airy grove its green flowery expanse. * * *"

Major Riley, in submitting his report of this expedition, said that the escort suffered badly from hostile Indians and describes the most serious affair in the following words:

"On the tenth (August) Corporal Aster who had been left at Fort Leavenworth came to us and informed us that he and Nation had been attacked by about fifteen Indians, who succeeded in getting the mail and horses sent with an express and that on the 23d of July, they were attacked [again] by about fifteen Indians who succeeded in getting the mail and horses and in wounding them both, Nation dangerously by a spear in the breast and him slightly in the wrist by an

arrow. He reported that Nation then laid sick of his wound about ten miles off and that he had been wandering about since attack of the 23d in the hopes of finding us. He also stated that they had fed on snakes and frogs a great part of the time * * *."

Major Riley immediately sent a command of forty men with a cart to bring Nation in. They found him about fifteen miles away and brought him to camp that night. He died a few weeks later.

Major Riley's escort to the traders went as far as Choteau's Island in the Arkansas River where, because they had reached Mexican territory, they halted and prepared to go into camp to wait for the traders' return in the fall. The caravan had hardly passed out of sight when a slight encounter with the Indians caused it to dispatch a mounted messenger to Major Riley asking escort for some distance farther. So prompt was his response that both the caravan and the Indians were amazed at his speed. The Indians precipitately retreated and the escort continued with the company as far as Sand Creek, where receiving no further signs of danger they returned to the Arkansas River where they made their camp.

The Fort Leavenworth command had agreed with the traders to remain in camp until the 10th of October awaiting the return of the party from Santa Fe in order to escort them back to the Missouri River. As the time approached, the weather began to grow colder. The clothing of the men was nearly worn out. The 10th of October came and no caravan was in sight. Major Riley then determined to give them one day of grace upon the expiration of which one gun was fired and the faces of the command turned homeward. A few hours later rapidly approaching horsemen proved to be a part of the missing caravan, which was coming back under the escort of Colonel Viscarra, Inspector General of the Mexican Army. Major Riley had requested cooperation in the protection of the caravan by a communication which had been forwarded to the Chief of the Province of Santa Fe. The Colonel, who happened to be in Santa Fe at the time, volunteered to escort the caravan until the American camp was reached. The description of the Mexican troops and the

banquet which was afforded the Colonel is given by Lieutenant Cooke in the following words:

"I distinctly remember the feast we gave them. Seated cross-legged around a green blanket in the bottom of the tent, we partook of bread, buffalo meat, and as an extraordinary rarity, of some salt pork, but to crown all were several large onions for which we were indebted to our arriving guests. A tincup of whiskey which like the salt pork had been reserved for an unusual occasion was followed by another of water. The next day we had time to look around us and to admire the strangest collection of men and animals that had perhaps ever met on the frontier of the United States. There were a few Creoles, polished gentlemen magnificently clothed in Spanish costume; a large number of grave Spaniards exiled from Mexico and on their way to the United States with much property in stock and gold, their whole equipage Spanish. There was a company of Mexican Regulars as they were called, in uniform, mere apoligies for soldiers or even men. Several tribes of Indians or Mexicans, much more formidable as warriors, were grouped about their horses with spears planted in the ground. Frenchmen were there of course, and our hundred and eighty hearty veterans in rags but well armed and equipped for any service. Four or five languages were spoken. To complete the picture must be mentioned the two thousand horses, mules, and jacks which kept up an incessant braying."

The American troops were reviewed and drilled for the Mexican officers and a return banquet was given the American officers by the Mexicans. The Colonel's tent was very large and comfortable and at the banquet several Mexican wines were served which had been brought from Santa Fe for the occasion. Finally, on the 14th of October, the Americans and the Mexicans parted company and on the 8th of November, the Riley command arrived at the Cantonment and quietly took possession of the "miserable huts and sheds left by the 3d Infantry the preceding May." The troops were in excellent health, not a single case of sickness having occurred on the entire trip.

CHAPTER III

Fort Leavenworth and Western Migration

Soon after the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory, the advance guards of western migration, which by 1800 had reached into the Ohio River Valley, began to press westward into Missouri. In 1815, St. Louis began to change from an outpost into the semblance of a town. In 1821 we find Fort Osage covering the small trading settlements which had appeared along the Missouri River. The overland trade with Santa Fe greatly promoted these towns, and for the next ten years, Franklin, the most important of them, was a busy point of departure for the caravans. After Cantonment Leavenworth had been established across the Missouri River in the Indian country, it became possible to advance the outfitting depot about a hundred miles west of Franklin. This new Missouri town, called Independence, was so favored with regard to river location that for many years it was the recognized American headquaters of the overland trade. In the early thirties however, the town of Westport, now Kansas City, Missouri, was established nearby and gradually superceded Independence in importance.

Six years before Cantonment Leavenworth was established, the population of Missouri had become large enough to justify its being recognized as a State. The pioneers, however, stopped at the great bend of the Missouri River, where Kansas City, Missouri, is now located. The land to the west was not open to settlement and for many years the westward traffic that passed the Cantonment consisted mostly of fur traders and merchants, anxious to get their goods safely into Mexico and to hurry back with their profits. In fact, from the time of the early explorations in Kansas, the whole area of the western plains was regarded only as a difficult and dangerous path between Missouri and New Mexico—a liability to the United States rather than an asset. Moreover, the prairies wealth of buffalo, deer, elk, and ante-

lope had dimished considerably; and the hunters and trappers had to press farther to the west.

What practical use could the United States make of this barren country? Conditions in the East furnished the solution. The population of the rich farming lands east of the Mississippi River was increasing rapidly, and the white settlers greatly desired to obtain possession of the eastern lands still held by the Indians. Moreover, it seemed to those who were especially studying the welfare of the Indians, that their condition would be improved if they were concentrated west of the Mississippi River. This plan provided an opportunity to make use of the plains and, at the same time, to congregate tribes of Indians in a territory of their own, where institutions similar to those of the white man might be put into operation for their benefit. Included in this plan, was the proposition to move five great tribes from the southeastern part of the United States—the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and Choctaws.

As early as 1825, treaties had been made with the Kansas or Kaw Indians who dwelt north of the Kansas River, and with the Osages who dwelt on the south, by which they gave up most of their land. In return they were to move to a new section and to receive from the Government, supplies of farming implements, stock, and also the services of blacksmiths and teachers of agriculture. With the Kaw and Osage tribes restricted to definite reservations, a large part of the plains was still left for possible allotment to various eastern tribes. Through 1828 and 1829 the question was agitated, and finally in 1830, Congress created an Indian Country which included all of eastern Kansas. Almost at once the tribes began their western movement.

The little garrison of Cantonment Leavenworth found itself in the center of this great Indian migration, and many wondered how it would be able to fulfill its mission of maintaining peace among so many tribes. In order to promote good feeling and to prevent misunderstanding, several councils of the different Indian tribes were called from time to time. The first Indian conference of importance took place at Cantonment Leavenworth in 1830. It was called by Major John Dougherty who had been the resident Indian Agent since the establishment of the Post. Among the tribes repre-

MAP OF
INDIAN RESERVATIONS
Developed during the period, 1825-1841

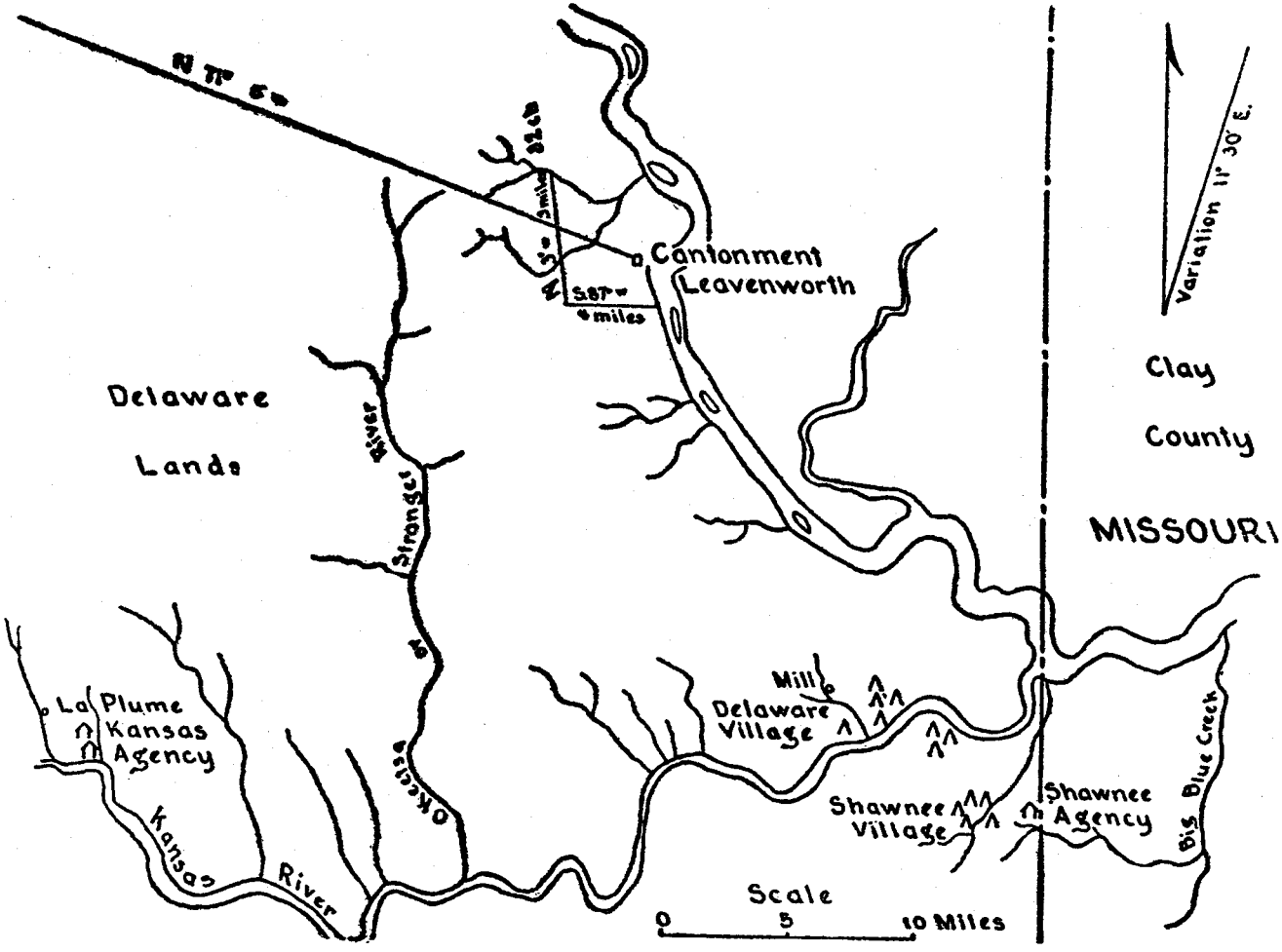
1—Sioux
2—Chippewa
3—Menomini
4—Arapahoe and Cheyenne
5—Pawnee
6—Omaha
7—Pottawatomie
8—Sac and Fox
9—Winnebago
10—Otoe and Missouri
11—Iowa
12—Kickapoo
13—Delaware
14—Kansas
15—Shawnee
16—Peoria, Ottawa, etc.
17—Osage
18—Seneca and Shawnee
19—Cherokee
20—Creek
21—Chickasaw
22—Choctaw

Adapted from Paxton's *History of the American Frontier.*

sented by delegates at this council were the Otoes, Omahas, Ioways, Sacs, Delewares, Shawnees, and Kickapoos. From the standpoint of promoting mutual good will, the conference proved a success, and during the next few years many others were held.

The interest of Cantonment Leavenworth was attracted especially to the Delaware Indians whose new reservation was to be located in the immediate vicinity of the post. The area set aside for the Delawares consisted of a strip extending toward the west from the present eastern boundaries of Leavenworth and Wyandotte Counties and containing over two million acres of very rich land. A Baptist missionary, the Reverend Isaac McCoy, had interested himself in the general scheme of civilizing the Indians, particularly the Delawares, and because of their confidence in him, he was commissioned to head the surveying party which was to make a survey of the land set aside for the tribe.

The McCoy party arrived at Cantonment Leavenworth in the fall of 1830. Included in the party were Dr. Rice McCoy, Congreve Jackson, Albert Dickens, John McCoy, a Delaware Indian named John Quick whom the United States Government had appointed Indian Commissioner, the three interpreters: James Connors for the Delawares, Joe Jim for the Kaws, and a man named Pirish for the Pawnees. A feeling of uneasiness soon became manifest, for it was discovered that no provision had been made for reserving the land upon which the Cantonment stood. In fact, if Isaac McCoy had followed his instuctions literally, he would have included the Post in the Delaware reservation. However, upon his own initiative, Isaac McCoy arranged a conference with the Post Commander, Major William Davenport of the 6th Infantry, and the Indian Commissioner, John Quick. Through arrangements with them, a survey of the land immediately surrounding the Cantonment was made and limits were established generally paralleling the present boundaries. In the archives of the Kansas State Historical Society may be seen what appears to be McCoys field notes and map of his survey. Accompanying these papers there is a map similar to McCoys, apparently drawn from the latters notes by the agent to the Shawnee Indians. A copy of McCoys map is shown on page 34. The interesting field



Map of Isaac McCoy's Survey in 1830.

notes refer to trees, narrow islands in the Missouri River, and other land marks long since obliterated. They read in part as follows:

Field Notes of the Boundaries of the Delaware Lands North of Kansas River

Course	*Distance*	*Remarks*
		Commenced on S. W. bank of Missouri River at the mouth of small rivulet from W. opposite the head of a narrow Island Bayou between it and the shore about two chains wide. Set three limestones for the southern limit of the U. S. Military reserve for the use of Cantonment Leavenworth on Missouri River from which a black oak 7½ links in circumference and marked "U. S. Mil. Res." bears N. 41° .15, E. 63 links, and a cottonwood, 12 links in circumference and marked "Del. Ld" bears S. 53° .20, E. 83 links. Also set rock on the line 15 links. Course S. 87° W. Magnetic Variation 11° E. Length of chain Two-Poles.
S. 87 W	160 chs	Raised mound 4 feet square at base and 3¼ feet high for 1 mile.
	80	Raised mound 3 feet square at base and 2½ feet high for 1½ miles.
	8	To rivulet at S. 20 E. to brook co E.
	72	Raised mound 4 feet base and 3½ feet high for 2 m.
	35	Entered timber.
	45	Set a rock for 2½ m.
	50	Encamped—October 1.
*	*	* * * * *

Fayette, Mo.
Dec. 30, 1830.

(Signed) ISSAC MCCOY, *Surveyor.*

This survey was not officially recorded in Washington, although it was generally accepted up to 1839. Having thus settled what might have proved a diplomatic difficulty, McCoy's next step was to call the second Indian conference of the year. With the assistance of the Indian Agent Dougherty, he summoned the representatives of the Pawnee Indians to meet at Cantonment Leavenworth on September 24, 1830. The Pawnee Indians occupied southern Nebraska, and the conference was for the purpose of informing them of the intended survey of a portion of their lands. McCoy also desired to ascertain the period of their fall hunting season, in order that he might make the survey while they were away from their villages, and thereby avoid possible complications.

As soon as the council was over, McCoy set about his work of making the survey, the Cantonment furnishing him with fifteen soldiers and with tents and other camp equipage.

The next three years, 1831-33, proved to be full of incident to the people of the isolated Post. In addition to the movement of the Delaware Indians into their new reservation from the James Fork of the White River in Missouri, a tri-weekly mail service from Liberty was installed to take the place of the former weekly horseback trip, the journey being made by coach with changes of horses at Todd's Creek and at Long's Point. Important visitors came to the Post—Alexander Philip Maximilian, Prince of Weid-Neuweid, a scientist of international note who stopped at the Cantonment for supplies; George Catlin, an artist of repute, who came in search of Indian subjects for his pictures; the author, John Treat Irving, who was particularly interested in Indian life; and several missionaries concerned with the moving of the Kickapoos. It was during this period that the designation of the Post was changed, for in 1832, the War Department issued an order directing that all military posts which had been designated cantonments were hereafter to be called forts.

However, mingled with all of this welcome relief from monotony in the life of the pioneer garrison, there was the constantly present fear of cholera which had been prevalent on the frontier for many years. The Army at large had lost many members, and several Indian tribes in the vicinity of Cantonment Leavenworth almost had been wiped out of existence by the disease. Though cholera was not present to any extent in the garrison, troops which were furnished by the Post for the Black Hawk War sustained many losses. The cholera situation required decisive measures on the part of all post commanders to keep their commands sober, alert, and alive, as may be seen by the following vigorous order, dated April 28, 1832, which was issued by General Winfield Scott from his headquarters at Fort Armstrong, Illinois, and in which he peremptorily commanded: "Every soldier or ranger who shall be found drunk or insensibly intoxicated after the publication of this order will be compelled, as soon as his strength will permit, to dig his grave at a suitable burying place large enough for his own reception, as such

grave cannot fail to be wanted for the drunken man himself or for some drunken companion."

The few available descriptions of the Post as it looked between 1829 and 1833 are of sufficient interest to merit repetition. Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke, upon his return from the first Santa Fe Trail expedition in the fall of 1829, gives the following enthusiastic description in his *Scenes and Adventures in the Army:*

"Fort Leavenworth is in reality but a straggling cantonment, but on an admirable site. The Missouri in an abrupt bend rushes with wonderful swiftness against a rock-bound shore; from this the sloping ground rises with a bold sweep to a hundred feet or more, then sloping gently into a shallow vale it rises equally again, and thus are formed a number of hills which are to the north connected by a surface but slightly bent to which the vale insensibly ascends; every line of every surface is curved with symmetry and beauty. On these top hills shaded with forest trees stands Fort Leavenworth. On one hand is to be seen the mighty river, winding in the distance through majestic forests and by massive bluffs, stretching away until mellowed to aerial blue: on the other, rolling prairies dotted with groves and bounded on the west by a bold, grassy ridge; this enclosing in an elliptical sweep a beautiful amphitheatre, terminates five miles southward in a knob [Pilot Knob] leaving between it and the river a view of the prairie lost in a dim and vague outline."

To Prince Maximilian of Weid we are indebted for an account of his stop at the Post in April, 1832. He writes in his journal:

"The 22d of April was warm and cheerful, the thermometer at 64½ Fahrenheit, at half past seven o'clock. About six we passed several islands separated by narrow channels, where our pilot steered so close to the left bank that the hens which we had on board flew to land. We soon came to a place where most of the trees were cut down, and we were not a little surprised at the sentinel. It was the landing place of Cantonment Leavenworth, a military post, where four companies of the sixth regiment of infantry of

the line, about 120 men, under Major Riley, were stationed to protect the Indian boundary. There were also 100 rangers, who are mounted and armed militia who are well acquainted with Indian warfare. We were stopped at this place, and our vessel searched for brandy, the importation of which into Indian Territory is prohibited; they would scarce permit us to take a small portion to preserve our specimens of natural history. Major Dougherty rejoined us here and brought with him several Kickapoo Indians who had come from St. Louis to receive lands in these parts. The Kickapoos and Delawares, and some other Indians are settled at no great distance from this place. The officers of the garrison were on board the whole day and our hunters rambled about the country."

There is reason to believe that an escort of rangers, probably the same ones mentioned in Maximilian's journal, accompanied the caravans of 1832 to Santa Fe. General Alexander Macomb, Commander-in-Chief of the Army at the time, mentions such an escort in his annual report for that year. The escort apparently was not a large one nor very important, since it does not seem to be mentioned by current writers, but undoubtedly it furnished its portion of anxiety to those behind at the Post awaiting its return.

The following year Maximilian, on his return down the Missouri, again tells of the reception given him by the military:

"About four in the afternoon, though the wind was still high, we were enabled to pursue our course. We were not long in making Cow Island, about nine miles from Cantonment Leavenworth, where a good deal of cattle belonging to the military post were grazing. A little before sunset we came to an isolated dwelling of a white man and saw several Indians, there being a settlement of the Kickapoos, who were removed from eastern provinces, at a short distance from the river.

"We lay to for the night on the right bank, and several of my people went on to [Fort] Leavenworth. On the 18th, during a heavy rain, we made three miles to the post; we heard some musket shots, a signal that the guard was re-

lieved, and soon reached the landing place of the Cantonment. The sentinel informed us that we must immediately appear before the commanding officer, and compelled us in an imperious manner, to keep close and march before him. We arrived like prisoners at the home of the commander, where Major Riley received us with tolerable politeness, and supplied me with provisions, meat, bread, etc., which I required, taking care however to be well paid for them.

"The Cantonment of Leavenworth is pleasantly situated; ten or twelve neat spacious buildings surrounded with a gallery or veranda, are occupied by two companies of the sixth regiment, not more than eighty men with ten officers, who were detached from Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. Dr. Fellows, the military physician, who the preceding year had traveled with me to this place, received me with much cordiality and gave me a good deal of information respecting this interesting country. He had been very successful with his cholera patients, for out of a great number, only one had died, because he always attacked the disorder at the very commencement.

"The heavy rain had converted the surrounding country into a swamp, so that we could not conveniently visit the environs of the Cantonment. The soil is very fruitful, and the whole country clothed in rich verdure. About four miles from this place, down the river, the Indian line meets the Missouri at right angles; this is the frontier of the Indian territory [Delaware Reservation] which the Cantonment is detailed to protect. Near the post is the village of the Kickapoos inhabited by a poor and a rather degenerated race."

From George Catlin, the artist, who visited the Post in 1833, we obtain a different picture of the hospitality of the people of the garrison. Apparently he had a better time than the distinguished scientist. These two accounts supplement each other in an interesting manner. Catlin writes in his *North American Indians:*

"This cantonment, which is beautifully situated on the west bank of the Missouri River and six hundred miles above its mouth, was constructed some years since by General

Leavenworth from whom it has taken its name. Its location is very beautiful and so is the country around it. It is the concentration point of a number of hostile tribes in the vicinity, and has its influence in restraining their hostile propensities.

"There is no finer tract of lands in North America, or perhaps, in the world, than that vast space of prairie country which lies in the vicinity of this post, embracing it on all sides. This garrison, like many others on the frontier, is avowedly placed here for the purpose of preserving the peace amongst the different hostile tribes, who seem continually to wage and glory in their deadly wars. How these feeble garrisons, which are generally but half manned, have been or will be able to intimidate or control the warlike ardor of these restless and revengeful spirits, or how far they will be able in desperate necessity to protect the lives and the property of the honest pioneer, is yet to be tested.

"In this delightful cantonment there are generally stationed six or seven companies of infantry and ten or twelve officers, several of whom have their wives and daughters with them forming a very pleasant little community, who are almost constantly together in social enjoyment of the peculiar amusements and pleasures of this wild country. Of these pastimes they have many, such as riding on horseback or in carriages over the green fields of the prairies, picking strawberries and wild plums, deer chasing, grouse shooting, horse racing, and other amusements of the garrison in which they are almost constantly engaged—enjoying life to a high degree.

"We are comfortably quartered for awhile in the barracks of this hospitable Cantonment which is now the extreme western military post on the frontier, and under the command of Colonel Davenport, a gentleman of great urbanity of manners, with a Roman head and a Grecian heart, restrained and tempered by the charms of an American lady who has elegantly pioneered the graces of civilized refinements into these uncivilized regions."

Another description of this period is available, that of John Treat Irving, who in 1833 accompanied an Indian commission to the Post. The natural halting place of any com-

mission which had business in this vicinity or beyond was Fort Leavenworth, since it was the only place where people could make a comfortable stop or procure provisions for a trip still farther out on the plains. To this fact we owe practically all the early descriptions.

In his *Indian Sketches,* Mr. Irving says:

"It was mid-day when we first caught sight of Fort Leavenworth, but it was near sunset before we arrived there. About a dozen white-washed cottage-looking houses compose the barracks and the abodes of the officers. They were so arranged as to form the three sides of a hollow square; the fourth is open and looks out over a wide prairie. It is a rural looking spot—a speck of civilization in the heart of a wilderness. There is nothing here to tell of war; and but for the sentinels upon their posts, the lounging forms of the soldiers, or the occasional drum as the signal for the performance of some military duty, we would not have known that we were in the heart of a military station."

In the same book, Irving mentions having met a company of rangers at the crossing of the Kansas River on their return from escorting "a party of Santa Fe traders over a portion of the perilous route which they were obliged to take in carrying on the traffic with that inland mart." They had been gone about a month, and according to his account they presented a motley appearance. Their clothing was shabby, their headgear nondescript, the whole presenting an odd array of old fur caps, ragged blankets, and various articles of Indian apparel. This escort, like the one in 1832, has been given no mention in the current books of the day. Most of the service of frontier troops will never be written, because much of it was done so quietly, so far away from publicists to write it up and from friends to talk about it, that no one except those in the immediate neighborhood and a few to whom letters were written, ever heard anything about the activities and work that was being carried on or the hardships that were endured.

Notwithstanding the efforts to keep the peace between the eastern Indians and the tribes of the West, serious difficulties arose between the Pawnees and the Delawares. Al-

though they had previously signed treaties relinquishing the land, the Pawnees and their allies, the Otoes, claimed all of the land between the Platte and the Kansas Rivers and continued to hunt there in defiance of their treaty. This land had been granted to the Delawares by the United States when the tribe had come west in compliance with the treaty entered into several years before. The tract under question was good hunting ground and the Delawares quite naturally wanted to hunt there. The land was theirs according to their understanding, but to their surprise they found themselves in a peculiar position. They no longer had land in the East, and the Pawnees refused to let them settle in the West. As a result of these differences, attacks and counterattacks resulted, the Pawnees taking the initiative. In revenge the Delawares burned a Pawnee village. There seemed to be no end to the matter, so a commission was appointed to meet at Fort Leavenworth to purchase the disputed tract from the Pawnees and to induce them, if possible, to move north of the Platte River and to make a treaty of peace.

John Treat Irving, accompanied this commission, and in his *Indian Sketches* he wrote the following interesting description of the dramatic proceedings of the conference. The account indicates the tact and diplomacy which had to be used in dealing with the Indians. Irving draws a vivid picture of the council, and we readily can imagine the interest with which the members of the Fort Leavenworth garrison watched the colorful pageant as it unfolded under the trees on the main parade ground:

"As soon as the commissioners had arrived at the Fort, Major Dougherty, the Indian agent, sent messages to the neighboring tribes, summoning them to meet their old enemies in council. For several days, the delegates and their followers had been coming in, and their camps were scattered through the woods around the Fort. The Pawnees and Otoes were encamped in the forest overlooking the Missouri River; but care was taken to keep the different bands apart until a permanent peace had been established between them.

"Early one morning, the report of a piece of artillery announced the hour for the council, and before long the

different delegates with their friends were seen making their way to the place of meeting which was under a grove of trees in front of the Officers quarters (Main Parade). First came the Delawares, gay with silver ornaments and ribands. They were not very warlike in their appearance, but the Pawnees had discovered that their looks belied them and regarded them, few as they were in number, as their most formidable foe. At their head was their chief, Sou-wah-nock. It was he who had led the attack upon the Pawnee village when it was sacked and burnt. He alone of his tribe wore no ornaments except a silver medal which hung down upon his breast. There was an expression of grim defiance upon his face as he looked around upon his former foes. After the Delawares, came the Shawnees, headed by the same portly old Indian whom we had met when we had first entered as strangers into the Indian Country. The same enormous pair of spectacles was astride his nose, and for aught I know may have remained there undisturbed since I last saw him. Following him came the fighting men of his tribe, reeking with paint and gaudy with ribands. These seated themselves beside the Delawares. Then came the rest of the migratory tribes: the Peorias, Piankashawas, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos, who all as they arrived, took their places among their civilized brethern. After they were seated, the Otoes made their appearance, coming across the green in single file, headed by their old chief, the Iotan. They seated themselves a short distance apart from the civilized Indians. Last of all came the wild band of Pawnees. In front of them strode the Wild Horse, his savage features not rendered any less hideous by a drunken frolic in which he had been engaged on the previous day. His hair hung in tangled masses about his head and shoulders, and his body as usual was smeared with red ochre, and although the weather was cold, his neck and chest were bare. He walked to his allotted place without appearing to notice the congregated bands of civilized Indians. Next came the Long Hair and several other chiefs, and after them followed the whole savage horde from four Pawnee towns. They stationed themselves opposite the civilized tribes and waited for the Commissioner to open the council."

"Several days before the meeting, a trifling incident came near to putting an end to the incipient peace. It was this:—The Delawares claimed to be descended from the Lenni-Lenape, who, centuries ago, coming up from the South, settled themselves on the eastern slope of this continent which they peopled, and were afterward known to the whites as Delawares. According to tradition they are the oldest tribe in North America. In pursuance of this dogma, the Delawares maintain that all the Indians on this continent are descended from their tribe, and they insisted that at the coming council, the Pawnees, when speaking to them, should address them as their 'great-grandfathers.' To this the Pawnees made strong opposition, and there was some risk that this point of etiquette would endanger the success of the council or prevent its taking place.

"For a short time, the Commissioner was perplexed, but at length, privately assembling the chiefs of the Pawnees, he endeavored to overcome their prejudices by fair words, and finally succeeded in satisfying their scrupulous pride. He begged that for the sake of peace, the Delawares should be humored, although he acknowledged to the Pawnees that he knew there was no ground for their claim of relationship, adding that it was so absurd, that no one would for a moment credit that so brave and powerful a people as the Pawnees should have sprung from so paltry a stock as the Delawares. The chiefs smiled grimly as they received the pleasing unction of flattery, and at length submitted to the degrading appelation until the council should be ended and the treaty be ratified, after which they threw sage hints which, translated literally, would amount to the same thing as sending the Delawares to the devil.

"These preliminaries had been settled before the day of the council. The great-grandchildren, reversing the usual order of things, no longer disowned their great-grandfathers, though further than the mere recognition there was no display of kindly feeling. The two bands sat opposite each other with the same grim expression of countenance that might have been expected from so many wild cats, each fearful to make a single friendly advance lest he should compromise the dignity of his tribe.

"After they had all assembled and were ready for business, the Commissioner rose up and stated the object of the meeting—that war had been carried on long enough between them, and that they now met for the purpose of becoming friends. He then entered explicitly into the conditions of the intended peace.

"When he had ended, the speakers of each tribe addressed the council. All professed the greatest friendship for their enemies, and closed their speeches by throwing the whole blame of every offense upon the shoulders of some other tribe.

"The delegates of several villages, which had barely inhabitants enough to hang a name upon, also eased their importance by speaking. The Delaware chief, Sou-wah-nock, then rose. He spoke of the destruction of the grand Pawnee village. He did not deny his agency in the deed. 'The Pawnees, he said, 'met my young men upon the hunt and slew them. I have had my revenge. Let them look at their town. I found it filled with lodges, I left it a heap of ashes.' The whole of the speech was of the same bold, unflinching character, and was closed in true Indian style. 'I am satisfied,' said he, 'I am not afraid to avow the deeds that I have done, for I am Sou-wah-nock, a Delaware warrior; but I am willing to bury the tomahawk and smoke the pipe of peace with my enemies. They are brave men and fight well.'

"When he had finished, he presented a string of wampum to Wild Horse, as being the most distinguished warrior of the Pawnee nation. When the slight bustle of giving and receiving the present had been finished, the Chief of the Republican [River] village rose to answer his warrior enemy. His speech abounded with one of those wild bursts of eloquence which peculiarly mark the savages of North America, and concluded in a manner which spoke highly of his opinion of what a warrior should be: 'I have promised to the Delawares,' he said, 'the friendship of my tribe. I respect my promise and I cannot lie, for I am a Pawnee chief.'

"There was a strong contrast between the deportment of the civilized and the savage Indians. The first, from long intercourse with the whites had acquired many of their

habits. Their iron gravity had yielded to a more mercurial temperament. Even in the midst of the council, they gave free vent to their merriment, and uttered their gibes and jests. They were constantly on the move, coming and going to and fro from the place of assembly, and paying but little heed to the deliberations. The Pawnees sat motionless, listening in silence and with profound attention to those who spoke.

"From early in the morning until near sunset the council continued. They then adjourned until the following day in order that the delegates from some of the small villages might have an opportunity to display their eloquence.

"On the following morning the report of a cannon announced the hour of the council. Once more the tribes met, but just as they had assembled, word was brought to the Commissioner that the delegates from the Kansas tribe had just arrived, and word was sent to them to attend the meeting. They soon made their appearance, all clothed in blankets, and each carrying a rifle. In front of them was their chief, White Plume. He wore a large drab overcoat with enormous pockets which gaped open. This article of dress deprived him altogether of the dignified appearance which had marked him upon our first meeting in the summer. He, however, seemed perfectly satisfied with his attire and in truth, I believe, there was scarcely a Pawnee who did not envy him the possession of an article with pockets of such a size that, in case of emergency, they could hold nearly a bushel of scalps.

"The arrival of this chief and his delegation had been anxiously expected, for the hostility between them and the Pawnees had been bitter, and it was all important that peace should be established between two such warlike and powerful tribes. The Pawnees eyed them in great silence as they came up and took the places set aside for them, but they evinced no hostile feeling. The business of the council then proceeded and the chiefs of the various small tribes in the vicinity addressed the Pawnees—all agreed to bury the tomahawk and regard them for the future as friends. These offers were graciously received by the Pawnees, though one of them afterwards remarked to the interpreter that they 'had now made peace with several nations with

whom they had been at war, and of whom they had never heard until they rose to address them in council.' This was little to be wondered at, as the speakers were one or two long-winded fellows, dressed in dirty calico and bedraggled ribands, and their delegations probably comprised their whole band. The deliberations lasted during the whole day, for as these Indians had no particular injuries to dwell upon, they expatiated on things in general, and each speaker continued his address until he had exhausted his wind. The Pawnees listened with exemplary patience, though I doubt if there was one who was not glad when the council ended.

"The next morning the Pawnees and the Kansas met to settle their grievances. A large room in the garrison had been selected for the purpose. The two bands occupied opposite sides of the room. There was a strong contrast between them. The Kansas had a stately appearance and their white blankets, as they hung in loose and graceful folds around them, had the effect of classic drapery. The Pawnees had no pride of dress. They were wrapped in shaggy robes and sat in silence—stern, wild, and uncouth. At length the speaking commenced. The first of them was the White Plume. He had boasted that his speech would make the Pawnees wince. At first, in order to conciliate the Whites present, he expressed a high opinion of them. After this he gradually edged off into a philippic against the Pawnee tribe. There was a dead silence among his own people as he spoke, and every eye was fastened upon the grim group opposite. The chief of the Tappage village was sitting directly in front of the speaker; his eye glowed like a coal of fire, but he remained silent until the speech was finished. When White Plume sat down, half a dozen Pawnees sprang to their feet but the Tappage chief waved them down. Then stepping out and fixing his eyes on the Kansas Chief, in a calm, quiet voice, he commenced his answer, and told the story of the wrongs inflicted upon his tribe by the Kansas, which had first kindled the war between the two nations. 'My young men' said he, 'visited them as friends; the Kansas treated them as enemies. They were strangers and the Kansas fell upon them, and slew them, and concealed their death.' He then entered into the particulars of the quarrel which, unfortunately for the Kansas, were

strongly against them. The Chief of the latter tribe received the answer with great philosophy, nor did he attempt to reply. Perhaps, too, he did not wish to invite a second attack from so rough a quarter. When the Pawnees had finished, the Commissioner interposed, and dropped a few words of oil upon the troubled waters, and after a time harmony was restored. Several other speeches were made. They were of a more calm and conciliating nature, and gradually tended to soothe the feelings of both. The council lasted until sunset, when the terms of the treaty were finally adjusted. On the day following, the articles of peace were signed and most of the tribes departed for their respective homes."

The coming of Jerome C. Berryman, a Methodist missionary, to establish a mission among the Kickapoos brought a church influence to the vicinity of the Post which it had lacked before. There were no regular chaplains provided for the Army at that time. In fact, it was not until 1837 and 1838 that legislation authorized chaplains for any considerable part of the Army. In 1830, the Reverend Isaac McCoy had visited the Post, and in 1831, Father De Smet had passed through on his return from a trip to investigate Indian conditions. Both of these clergymen undoubtedly were asked to conduct religious services. Mr. Berryman writes that during the eight years of his stay at the Kickapoo mission, he "often preached to the soldiers at the Fort." In 1834, the Reverends John Dunbar and Samuel Allis spent some time at the Post while on their way to establish a Presbyterian mission among the Pawnees. In a paper written for the Nebraska Historical Society under the title, *The Presbyterian Mission Among the Pawnee Indians*, Mr. Allis says:

"We proceeded to Fort Leavenworth and summered there, at Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, and among the missions of the Kickapoos, Shawnees, and Delaware Indians. —We spent some time at Fort Leavenworth. I had a letter of introduction to Major Thompson, from a nephew of Mrs. Thompson of Ithaca. We were kindly received by Major Thompson and other officers of the Fort, also Major Morgan,

sutler. Major Thompson commanded a regiment of infantry."

From Mr. Dunbar we have the information that the party was desirous of proceeding on their way in order to begin their mission work but "found no way of getting beyond the military station since it was rare that Whites passed, either up from or down to the Cantonment, from the last of May till the latter part of September." Mr. Samuel Parker, the third member of the missionary party, who did not join Allis and Dunbar until the following year, had collected his experiences in a book published in 1844, entitled, *Parker's Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains.* The following is reproduced from Mr. Parker's book:

"Saturday, May 9th, rode twenty-six miles from Liberty to Cantonment Leavenworth, which is situated on the west side of the Missouri River, *nearly twenty miles outside of the United States.*—I had an introduction to several of the officers, made my home at Lieutenant S's (Lieutenant Enoch Steen's), an agreeable and religious family. I preached three times on the Sabbath and most of the people of the garrison assembled, and gave good attention. There is a very considerable number of professors of religion attached to this station, but they have no chaplain to teach and lead them in their devotions, which is a deficiency in our military establishment. Colonel Dodge (Colonel Henry Dodge) and some of the other officers appear disposed to maintain good order, and I think they exert a salutary influence."

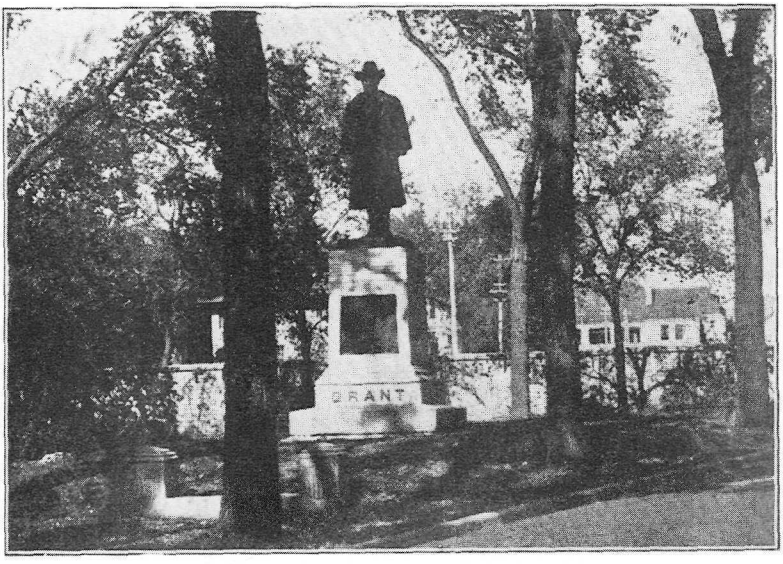
In the year 1834, two events occurred that made a deep impression upon the people stationed at the Fort. On July 25, orders were issued promoting Colonel Leavenworth, the founder of the Post, to the grade of brigadier general. On July 21, just four days before his promotion, while engaged in an expedition against the Pawnees, he was seized with a violent fever and died within a few hours, lying in his wagon on the open prairies, with the troops halted all around him. He was buried at Cross Timbers, near the camp at Washita Falls, Indian Territory, where his body remained until 1835, when it was removed to Delhi, Delaware County, New York,

in accordance with the last wishes of Colonel Leavenworth himself. In 1902, with the consent of Colonel Leavenworth's family, the body was brought to Fort Leavenworth where it was placed, with appropriate ceremonies, in the National cemetery.

The other event which had a great influence on the Post and also on the United States Army, was the coming of part of the 1st Dragoons to Cantonment Leavenworth. Until 1833, the government had depended on the infantry to pursue and punish the Indians. These troops were able to accomplish little in the way of pursuit, when pitted against the well-mounted Indians. To meet the situation, there developed a short termed service battalion of Mounted Rangers which was organized and placed on duty in the North and in the Southwest, in the hope that it would meet the demands of the pioneers on the advanced frontier for better protection of their homes.

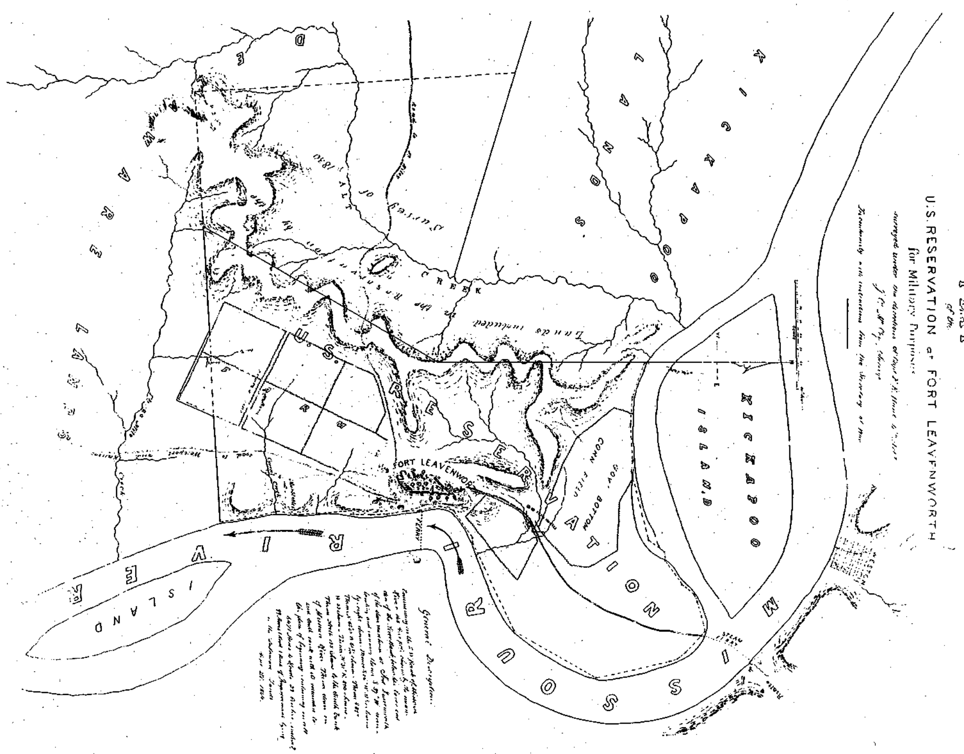
In 1833, the Government, satisfied that the Rangers did not answer the purpose much better than the infantry, decided to organize a regiment of mounted troops composed of trained officers and picked men. President Andrew Jackson appointed Major Henry Dodge, colonel of the new organization, which was designated the 1st Dragoons (the present 1st Cavalry Regiment). This was the first cavalry regiment to be organized in the Regular Army under an Act of Congress. The regiment was organized at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, in 1833, and later in the year marched to Fort Gibson, Arkansas. A number of the officers and men of the Rangers were transferred to the 1st Dragoon Regiment and several officers of the Army were given high rank in the new organization. Many of those so chosen, later became well known officers. Among them were Lieutenant Colonels Stephen W. Kearney and Philip St. George Cooke, Major Richard B. Mason, and Captains Edwin V. Sumner, David Hunter, and Clifton Wharton. Stephen W. Kearney was made lieutenant colonel of the new organization and was entrusted immediately with the task of devising a system of cavalry tactics for the new branch of the service.

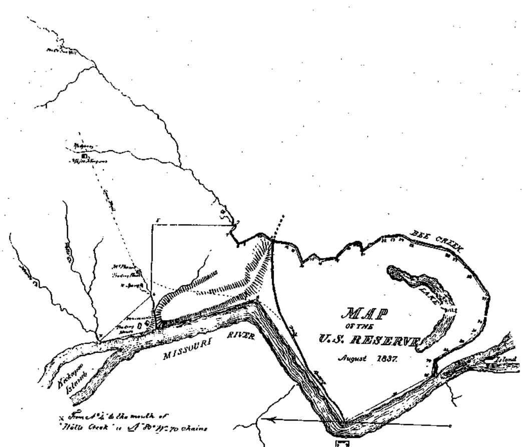
From Fort Gibson, Arkansas, under date of February 15, 1834, Colonel Dodge recommended to the War Depart-



U. S. Grant Monument and the Old
Defensive Stone Wall

Colonel Henry Dodge
As a United States Ranger





Field notes taken by Lieut. Stein for a survey of the Reserve opposite Ft Leavenworth.

Stations	Bearings	Distances
No 1 The Ferry	N. 50° E.	160 Chains
" 2	N 25° W.	123 "
" 3 Pensineau's T.H.	N 80° E.	40 "
" 4	E: E	80 "
" 5	S	69 "
" 6	N. 50° W	10 "
" 7	S 50° W	15 "
" 8	S 20° E	6 "
" 9	S 30° E	20 "
" 10	S 30 W	15 "
" 11 Bridge Liberty Road	S. 10 W	20 "
" 12	S 30 W	6
" 13	S. 75 W	20
" 14	S. 40° E	17
" 15	S 50 W	10
" 16	S. 10 E	18
" 17	S. 40 E	20
" 18	S. 20 E	10
" 19	S	4
" 20	S 80° W	10
" 21	S. 35 E	20
" 22	S. 10 E	18
" 23	S. 5 W	10
" 24	S 30 W	10
" 25	S. 15 W	40
" 26	S 35 W	10
" 27	S 50° W	30
" 28	S. 60° W	30
" 29	N 80° W	30
" 30	N 60° W	10
" 31	N. 35 W	20
" 32	N. 25° W	20
" 33	N. 30 W	20
" 34	N. 80 W	20
" 35 mouth Bee Creek	N. 35 W	50
" 36	N. 15 W	75
to mouth of Wells Creek	N. 80 W	70

ment that the regiment be transferred to Fort Leavenworth, because of the many advantages which the Post presented over Fort Gibson. To quote from his letter:

"Steam boats could transport the necessary supplies to this place early in the spring, forage can be secured cheap on the frontiers of the state of Missouri, protection would be afforded to the inhabitants of this State, and this would be the proper point to furnish the necessary escort for the protection of our trade to the Mexican State.—That part of the regiment of Dragoons posted at Fort Leavenworth would be able to range the country in the direction of the Rocky Mountains and return in the fall to this place, and should there be war among the Indians, the regiment could be concentrated in a short time by making a forced march. Should a part of the Dragoons be wintered at Fort Leavenworth, would not the good of the service be promoted and a considerable expense saved to the government, to order that part of the 6th Infantry now stationed at the place to Jefferson Barracks, and permit the Dragoons to occupy their quarters next winter?"

The War Department concurred in the view of Colonel Dodge and issued the following order, authorizing the movement (G.O. 41, W.D. 1834):

"The Regiment of Dragoons to commence the line of march from Fort Gibson; the headquarters of the Dragoons; with four companies to be at Fort Leavenworth; Lieutenant Colonel Kearney with three companies at Fort Des Moines; Major Mason with three companies at or near Fort Gibson."

As soon as the new troops were assigned to Fort Leavenworth, it became evident at once that new quarters and barracks would be needed. The War Department allotted ten thousand dollars to meet the expense, the work to be done by troops. The work was not started promptly, however, and when Colonel Dodge arrived, he found no stables or shelter provided for the horses. Concerning this matter he wrote to The Adjutant General of the Army as follows, under date, Fort Leavenworth, October 20, 1834:

"On arrival at this military post, I expected stables would have been built for the dragoon horses. Orders have been given by the Quartermaster General for the erection of stables at Des Moines, on the Mississippi, as well as at Fort Gibson. Finding that no orders had been given for building stables for the four companies under my immediate command, by the Quartermaster, I ordered the commanding officers of companies to build temporary stables. The men of part of these companies refused to work, saying that orders had been given for building stables, where detachments of the regiments were located and that they had been told by the officers who recruited them, they would have nothing to do but to take care of their horses and perform military duties.

"This spirit of insubordination I have to contend with. The first duty of a soldier is to obey his orders, and I am determined this work shall be done for the preservation of the horses. I regret, however, that this feeling exists, more particularly as the men built their quarters last winter, and have performed hard service during the summer. I shall pursue a steady and determined course with the insubordinate men until they are brought to a proper sense of duty."

The new barracks were built of brick and were located on the east side of the Main Parade where they remained until 1903 when they were torn down. The stables were built on the south side of the parade, and thus a complete square of construction was formed.

No sooner had Colonel Dodge arrived, than Zadock Martin, who has already been mentioned as being in charge of the ferries across the Little Platte and the Missouri Rivers, wrote a letter to the Quartermaster General stating that in his opinion, from now on the Post ought to raise its own forage, hiring civilians to take charge of farms on the Reservation for that purpose. The Quartermaster General communicated with Colonel Dodge, who promptly replied, stating his vigorous objections, the principle one of which had to do with the bringing in of whiskey to the soldiers. He stated that there was already a large illicit whiskey trade carried on by some of the settlers across the river and that the introduction of civilian whites into the Post would

only increase the existing difficulties. The immediate results of this discussion are not known, but certain it is that a few years later a "Superintendent of Farms" was appointed, W. S. Yohe, by name, and from that time on for several years such a position was held by various civilians.

Charles Augustus Murray, a distinguished Englishman who visited the Post about this time, in his *Travels in North America,* concerning the food supplies of the Garrison said, "The Fort is supplied with beef and other meat chiefly by a farmer who lives in the bottoms immediately opposite. Among other articles for the supply of the table, one of the most abundant to be met with here is the catfish. I found it somewhat coarse, but not unpalatable eating. These fish are caught of a most enormous size and in great quantities by the settlers, one of whom told me that he caught four in the course of one morning weighing above fifty pounds each." The mention of settlers and a "farmer who lives in the bottoms immediately opposite" shows the gradual western drift of the pioneer. In 1827 when the Post was founded, there were no settlers in the vicinity, and the land opposite the Cantonment was not occupied. It is not difficult to imagine that the new neighbors were very welcome.

Prior to the organization of the 1st Dragoons in 1833, the Government possessed very little knowledge of the country except that along the fixed trails. Colonel Henry Dodge had had considerable experience in journeying about the country, and his first effort on joining the Regular Service was to investigate the Indian conditions in the West. In this work he had the strong support of Major Dougherty, the Indian Agent, located at the Fort. Both these officials appreciated the desire of the Government to get into friendly relations with the Indians located between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains to the west, and between the Arkansas River to the south and the Platte River to the north. The opportunity to obtain such knowledge came very soon. In January of 1835, Major Dougherty, in returning from a paying trip to certain tribes, reported that conditions among the Arikarees would soon develop trouble unless the Government brought about a quick adjustment.

Colonel Dodge, under date of January 18, 1835, advised the Department that Major Dougherty had just returned from a payment of annuities due the Pawnees and Otoes, with the information that he had seen several of the principal men of the Arikarees who stated that they had been driven from their country on the Missouri by the Sioux and other nations of Indians with whom they had been at war for many years, and that they were desirous of remaining with the Pawnees on the Platte River during the winter. Colonel Dodge's report continued: "The Agent gave these Indians, as he informed me, permission to remain in the country until the wishes of the Government could be made known on that subject. The Aureekarees [Arikarees] as I am informed, never made peace with the United States, and it is necessary that some decisive course should be taken with them early in the spring; they are known to be a faithless, treacherous people; their wants may place them in a situation that will force them to make a peace that will be lasting with the United States." Colonel Dodge hoped that, as a result of his representations, a considerable show of military force might be sent out to overawe both the Arikarees and the other tribes.

Acting on the Colonel's recommendation, the Department authorized him to take his mounted command through the territory above defined and to inform himself of exact conditions. Accordingly on May 29, 1835, an expedition left Fort Leavenworth under Colonel Dodge with Companies A, C, and G of the 1st Dragoons. Captain J. C. Gantt, an Indian trader who was well acquainted with the country to be marched over by the command, was chosen as its guide. Major John Dougherty, Indian Agent, also accompanied the expedition as far as the Pawnee village on the north. The troops made a wide circle of exploration. Going north from Fort Leavenworth to the Platte River, they swung west to the Platte Forks, up the South Fork to the Rockies, then south to what is now Cañnon City, Colorado, down the Arkansas River to the road leading to Santa Fe, finally turning back toward Fort Leavenworth where they arrived on September 16. It is interesting to note that the Dodge expedition followed the route of the railroads from Leavenworth and Atchison to the vicinity of

Omaha, west along the present line of the Union Pacific Railroad, then to Pueblo, and return to Fort Leavenworth along the line now followed by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.

General Edmund P. Gaines, then commanding the Department of the West, was so delighted with the results of this expedition, both in the knowledge gained and in the effect it had on the Indians that he recommended that a sword be given to Colonel Dodge, a brace of pistols to each commissioned officer, and a month's extra pay to each non-commissioned officer and soldier.

The settlers on the western border of Missouri did not at all approve of this expedition and proceeded to express their objections to such absences of the Fort Leavenworth troops. The Secretary of War mentions these objections in his annual report of 1835, saying:

"At the same time complaints were occasionally heard from settlers on the frontier that they were left without protection. From Clay County, Missouri, came a remonstrance to Congress against long journeys of the Dragoons to the Rocky Mountains, which were declared to be of no earthly use to the Government, and asking that the Dragoons might be employed patrolling the frontier from post to post."

It was impossible for the settlers to conceive of the land to the west as being of any value. Even Catlin as late as 1833, on his visit to the plains says, "The country from Mexico to Winnipeg is a plain of grass which must ever be useless to cultivation." He did, however, urge its preservation as a National Park "where the world can see for ages to come, the native Indian galloping his wild horse with sinewy bow, shield, and lance amid the elks and buffalo in the freshness of nature." One wonders what might be the impressions of Pike, Long, Irving, and Catlin could they now see the fields of wheat and corn growing on the land that they thought so barren and useless.

The settlers on the frontier of Missouri had reason to feel considerable apprehensive at the absence of the troops from their vicinity. When the Territory of Missouri was carved out, a wide strip of land opposite the Post was left

entirely without settlers. The eastern boundary of this strip was a north and south line extending through the mouth of the Kansas River, and the Missouri River formed the western boundary. The Iowas and Sacs claimed this land but they had never been allowed to occupy it. At various times, other tribes had been given temporary homes there and in 1834 it was occupied by a part of the Pottawatomie tribe. A vigorous protest against this occupation was made by the settlers on the western border of Missouri. Colonel Dodge took the matter up with the War Department, warning the Government of the dangers that would surely come from leaving the Indians and the Whites in such close proximity. He pointed out that some natural barrier, such as a river or a mountain range, ought to separate the two races, and that the present state of affairs would necessitate the use of a large mounted force to keep the peace. He recommended that the strip of land be given to Missouri to which it naturally belonged. After the establishment of Fort Leavenworth, squatters had settled within the strip under contention, and William Clarke, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, asked Colonel Dodge to investigate the situation and report. The Colonel complied, making the journey with several officers and an Indian agent, and ordering off the squatters under threat of the destruction of their property. They immediately retreated to the vicinity of Clay County, Missouri, and there waited to see what Congress would do about annexing the land to Missouri. In June, 1836, Congress granted the tract to Missouri, provided a complete extinguishment of titles of the Sacs and Foxes could be secured. In September, a treaty convention was held at Fort Leavenworth for the purpose of securing the desired extinguishment and a speedy agreement was reached by the payment of seven thousand five hundred dollars to the Indians. In December of that year, the State of Missouri formally accepted the tract which had come to be known as the "Platte Purchase."

In the same year, Colonel Dodge resigned from the Army to become the Governor of the Territory of Michigan, and Lieutenant Colonel Stephen W. Kearney succeeded to the command of the 1st Dragoons and of Fort Leavenworth. It was not until February 15, 1837, that all the details con-

cerning the treaty with the Sacs and Iowas were settled. No sooner, however, was the ratification made known than the homesteaders rushed into the Platte Purchase from Clay and Clinton Counties where they had been collecting for that purpose. This crowd was composed, not only of Missourians and people from the immediate vicinity, but also of pioneers from Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

All of this must have been more or less exciting to the people of the Post. Nearer neighbors could not help but be welcome; nevertheless, the authorities thought it wise for the future protection of the Fort, to make a recommendation to the War Department that a reservation of not less than six thousand acres, the northern line to include the "Rialto," should be set aside for the use of the Government. The "Rialto" mentioned was a point on the east bank of the River, near the town of Weston, where the Missouri River ferry landed. It consisted in general of undesirable settlers who sold liquor to the soldiers and Indians. To make matters worse, the landing on the west bank of the river bore the same character and name and being just off the reservation, caused considerable trouble for many years because of the whiskey sellers who squatted there. This recommended addition to Government land was approved in 1838 by President Van Buren.

In 1838, we find included in an Army reorganization bill of the 28th Congress, the first provision made for Army chaplains. Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri was largely responsible for the section of the bill which had to do with chaplains. Their number was limited to twenty and their duties were twofold; first to inculcate the Gospel, and second to give instruction to the children of the military posts. They were to receive forty dollars a month, four rations per day, quarters, and fuel, and were to be assigned only to those places "most destitute of instruction." That Fort Leavenworth came under the last named description seems to be indicated by the fact that the Reverend Henry Gregory was assigned to the Post immediately upon the passage of the bill. He left the Fort the following year and no other chaplain was appointed until 1842. There appears to be no recorded reason for the gap, but the inference is, of course,

that other posts were found to be more destitute of instruction than Fort Leavenworth.

A second survey of the military reserve boundary was made in 1839 by Lieutenant Edward Johnson under the direction of Colonel Kearney. The McCoy survey was not disturbed beyond drawing in the western boundary, by fixing Salt Creek as the western line. For some reason, neither this survey nor the one made in 1830 by McCoy was ever recorded at Washington. Later in 1854, when Kansas Territory was opened and it became necessary to make definite boundaries to indicate which was Government property and which was to be opened for the settlers who were waiting for the signal to be given to rush in and claim for their own the land in the neighborhood of the Fort, it was discovered that only the plot of the east side of the river, reserved in 1838 and approved and ratified by Congress, was on record as belonging to the United States. These conditions gave rise to the necessity for another survey which was made in 1854 under the direction of Captain Franklin E. Hunt. Except for the addition of 407.63 acres obtained in 1902 and 1909 along the western boundary, the Hunt survey marks the present limits of the reservation.

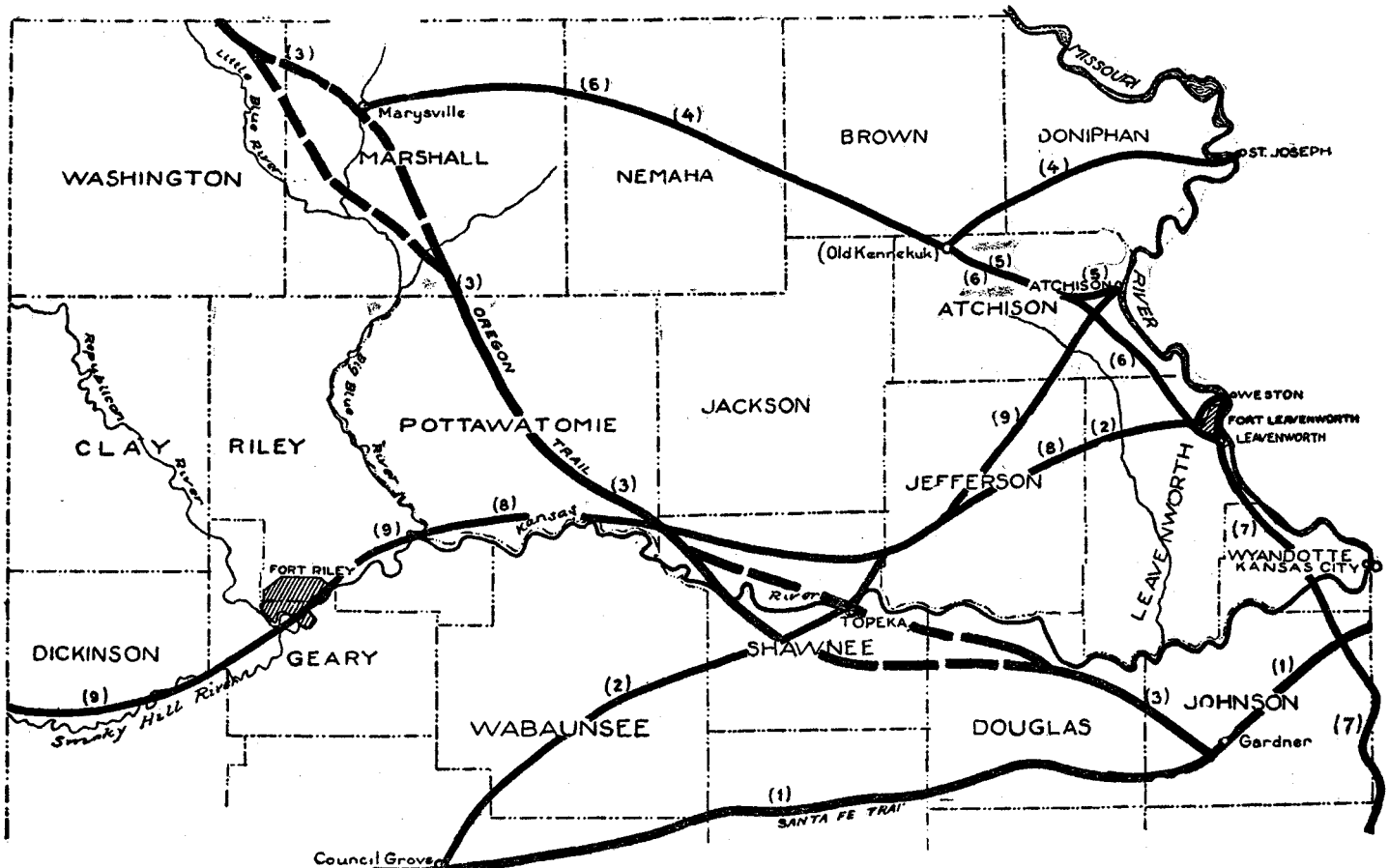
In the same year, 1839, Colonel Kearney was ordered from Fort Leavenworth to quiet the Cherokees whose chiefs had been killed by their own tribe. Colonel Kearney had under his command a complete regiment of ten companies of dragoons, the largest Regular mounted force assembled up to that time for a military expedition in the United States. It is related further that when it was discovered that the Quartermaster was without funds to equip this force, Colonel Kearney used his own private means to procure necessary supplies.

During the next few years, the Fort was occupied for the most part with local affairs. Two new sutlers came to the Post. The northern boundary line of the Reservation on the east side of the river was changed when Missouri was resurveyed in 1841. In 1844 all the reservation on the east side of the river was relinquished except 936 acres. Several new houses were built, chief of which was the large double house on the north side of the Main Parade, constructed of brick and occupied for many years by the Post Commanders.

There was increased watchfulness against the possible uprising of the Indians at this time because they were very restless over the attempts of Congress to fix a boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska. The Indians claimed that the proposed line deprived them of territory which had been guaranteed to them as their own.

In 1843, Captain Philip St. George Cooke of the 1st Dragoons, went out with a detachment to escort a caravan of traders over the Santa Fe trail to the Mexican Border. In the meantime, trouble had arisen between Texas and Mexico and the escorts were forbidden to cross into Mexican territory. Word was brought to Captain Cooke that one Captain Jacob Sniveley, purporting to be acting under a regular commission, and having in his possession a document which seemed to corroborate his claims, had been violating the Border Regulations and had been operating on both sides of the border, capturing and confiscating property right and left. Captain Cooke, believing the commission to be false, captured Sniveley and brought him with one hundred of his band as prisoners to Fort Leavenworth. Here they were released and later a Court of Inquiry was instituted to inquire into the actions of Captain Cooke. His conduct was upheld and his capture of Jacob Sniveley was entirely approved.

In the year 1845, Colonel Stephen W. Kearney, with Companies A, C, F, G, and K of the 1st Dragoons, made another expedition to the West, this time as far as the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains. Undertaken partly for purposes of exploration, partly to make a show of force before the Indians, it succeeded in both, and made quite a reputation for the companies themselves and especially for Colonel Kearney. The expedition left the Fort on May 13, reached Fort Laramie on the north fork of the Platte on June 14, marched to South Pass and returned to Laramie by July 13; then by way of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River to Fort Leavenworth where it arrived on August 24, having made a march of two thousand miles in less than one hundred days. Colonel Kearney himself beleived that in length of march and in rapidity of movement, the expedition was unprecedented and commended the good conduct, efficiency, and attention to duty of his officers and soldiers.



COUNTY MAP OF NORTHEASTERN KANSAS SHOWING GENERAL ROUTES OF SOME OF THE OLD TRAIL BRANCHES.

(For names of branches see page 62.)

During the years 1846 and 1847, the Post was more or less interested in the increasing number of caravans that were now heading to the West and Northwest, to Oregon and to California. They came in far greater numbers two years later when great wagon trains passed the Fort almost daily on their way to Utah and to the gold fields of California. A branch of the trail, used for this western movement, passed through the Post itself, so the garrison was not without diversion between the periods of its plains expeditions. The migration of settlers out to Oregon was developing another great path, first called the "Road to Oregon" and later the Oregon Trail, and it soon was conducting as many travelers as the old Santa Fe Trail had guided in the Thirties. One of the earliest travelers to take the trip was the historian, Francis Parkman, and his description of Fort Leavenwoth in 1846 is interesting because it presents a picture of the Post as it must have appeared to hundreds of pioneers as they went through its edge on their way to the Far West. He says:

"Fort Leavenworth is in fact no fort, being without defensive works, except two block-houses. No rumors of war had as yet disturbed its tanquility. In the square grassy area surrounded by barracks and the quarters of the officers, the men were passing and repassing or lounging among the trees; although not many weeks afterwards, it presented a different scene, for here the offscourgings of the frontier were congregated for the expedition against Santa Fe."

It was in this year that Fort Leavenworth emerged for the first time from its backgound of woods, plains, Indians, and frontier crudeness, and assumed an individuality of its own. The Mexican War brought it into prominence, and since that struggle it has retained a conspicuous place both in the history of the Army and of the Nation.

NAMES OF SOME OF THE OLD TRAIL BRANCHES IN NORTHEASTERN KANSAS

(See map on page 60.)

(1) The Santa Fe Trail.

(2) Fort Leavenworth Branch of the Santa Fe Trail.

(3) The Oregon Trail (sometimes referred to as the Emigrant Road).

(4) St. Joseph Branch of the Oregon Trail. Also routes of the Holliday Overland Stage and the Pony Express.

(5) Atchison Branch of the Oregon Trail.

(6) Leavenworth and Fort Leavenworth Branch of the Oregon Trail (sometimes referred to as the Oregon and California Military Road, also as the Salt Lake Trail).

(7) Fort Leavenworth and Fort Scott Military Road.

(8) Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley Military Road.

(9) Butterfield's Overland Despatch Route, 1865-1866.